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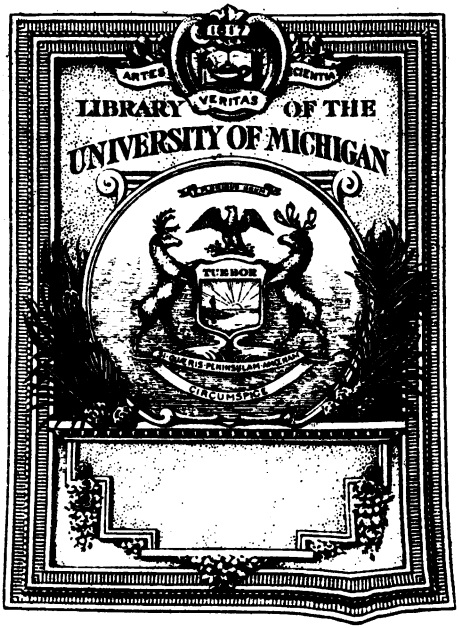
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v. Birch's Life of Pr. Henry. p. 186.

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Æsculapius hic Librorum ærugo, Vetustas
Per quem nulla potest Britonum consumere chartas.

T. Cross sculpsit

A

DISCOURSE

OF

Foreign War:

With an

ACCOUNT

Of all the

Taxations upon this Kingdom, from the Conqueſt to the End of the Reign of

Queen ELIZABETH.

Alſo a Liſt of the Confederates from

HENRY I.

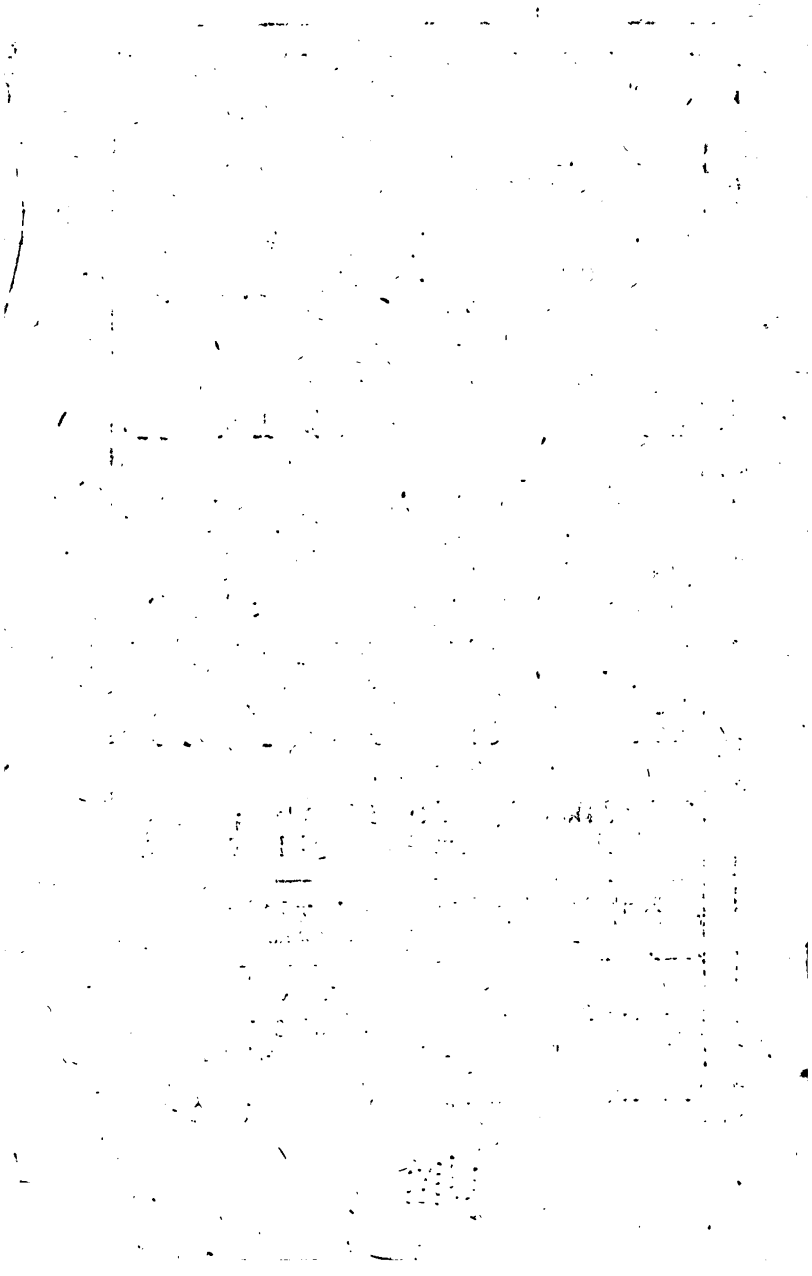
TO THE

End of the Reign of the ſaid Queen; ſhewing which have prov'd moſt Beneficial to *England.*

Formerly Written by Sir *Robert Cotton* Barronet, and now Publiſhed by Sir *John Cotton* Barronet.

LONDON,

Printed for *Henry Mortlock*, at the *Phœnix* in St. *Paul's* Church-yard, and at the *White-Hart* in *Weſtminſter*-Hall. 1690.



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THE PREFACE TO THE READER.

SO strange a desire and itch of writing, doth possess the greatest part of the world; and men are so in love with their own imaginations, that they would have their follies engraved in Brass and Marble. Upon this account the learned and most ingenious Physician in that incomparable piece of his Religio Medici *hath these words;* "*I have heard some with deep* "*sighs lament the lost lines of* Cicero; *others* "*with as many groans deplore the combustion of* "*the Library of* Alexandria: *for my own part, I* "*think there be too many in the world, and could* "*with patience behold the Urn and Ashes of the* "Vatican, *could I, with a few others, recover the* "*perished leaves of* Solomon. *'Tis not a me-* "*lancholy* Utinam *of my own, but the desires of* "*better heads, that there were a general Synod;* "*not to unite the incompatible difference of Re-* "*ligion, but for the benefit of Learning, to re-* "*duce it as it lay at first, in a few and solid* "*Authors, and to condemn to the fire those swarms* "*and*

Sr. Tho. Brown.

"and millions of Rhapsodies, begotten only to di-"stract and abuse the weaker judgement of Scho-"lars, and to maintain the trade and mysterie of "Typographers. What a multitude of books (ὅσα ψαμαθός τε, κόνις τε) concerning the controversies in Religion between us and the Romanists hath invaded the world; and to use Homer's *words,* ἐπέων δὲ πολὺς νομὸς ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα? *But of these (excepting some few) as for example, that of the Archbishop* Laud's *against* Fisher, *Mr.* Chillingworth *against* Knot, *The Author of* Via Recta, *and* Via Devia, *and that incomparable pair of learned men Dr.* Stillingfleet *and Dr.* Tillotson, *with the most Learned and Pious Dr.* Hammond *against that Pest and* κάθαρμα *of Mankind,* Serjeant) *the Major part, are (as he saith) a spurious brood, the laborious effects of ease and idleness, not worthy the Vacant hours of a serious person. Having said this it may justly be objected against me, why I by putting forth this Book, should help to encrease this Epidemical disease. To this I answer: 1. I received some encouragement by the general favour and acceptance which the world was pleas'd to give to this small Treatise. 2. My pious affection and Duty to the Author did inflame my desires to propagate his Name (as much as in me lay) to Posterity. 3. Being but a small Book it was secure from that censure,* μέγα βιβλίον, μέγα κακόν. *If this little Treatise may find not only pardon, but some acceptance, from those few of the more knowing persons, I have obtain'd my design: To please all I know is impossible;*

——— Οὐδὲ γὰρ ὁ ζεὺς
Οὐδ' ὕων πάντας ἀνδάνει, οὔτ' ἀνέχων.

John Cotton.

PROPOSITIONS OF WAR and PEACE

Delivered to His Highneſs

PRINCE HENRY

By ſome of his Military ſervants.

Arguments for War.

EArmes of *Policy*, as well as works of Nature, (*a*) are beſt preſerved from the ſame grounds they were firſt founded on. By *Armes* was laid the foundation of this State, whether we reſpect the *Saxon* or the *Norman*. It was War that of ſeven Crowns in the *Heptarchy* made one fit for that *Monarchy*, that ſince by many glorious exploits hath made good in forreign parts the renown of her own greatneſs, and crowned thereby this State with an eternal peace. Times nor our own vertues are not changed: Neceſſity, Benefit, and Facility of War being the ſame that they were before to our forefathers.

(a) *Panſæ & Hirtii conſilium Cæſari.*

Reasons of forraign War drawn from 1. Necessity, for

1 Preservation of our own peace.

We never were so near peril by shipwrack in any tempest abroad, as at home by the calm government of *Henry* the sixth. For *France* by the awful hand of his father reduced, it fared with us as with the mistress of the world, *a) Remoto Carthaginis metu, & Imperii æmula,* when the fear of *Carthage* her competitor for the Empire was removed, that fell not by degrees, but *Præcipiti cursu ab Armis ad voluptates, à negotio ad otium,* rushed headlong from arms to pleasures, from employment to idleness. And from hence as greatest Nations, *cum ab externis causis tutæ videntur, ipsæ suis viribus onerantur,* when there is no longer fear of forraign enemies, their own strength becomes a burthen to them: so after many conquests abroad, we were at home prest down with the unnatural weight of civil arms: For *cum foris non habent hostem, domi inveniunt,* when people have no enemies abroad, they'l find some at home; as all warlike and fruitful Nations will, not otherwise delivered either of their humours or people. To add to this necessity, the sending away of our factious spirits, it will remove the seat of blood from our own doors,

2 Venting of factious spirits.

(a) *Velleius Paterculus.*

3 Instructing in arms our people.

doors, and prove the cheapest school to train up in arms the better dispositions, whose military skill may after serve to defend the State; & by the late accession of another Nation will be now more needful, (a) *Ne novus populus otio & nimia pecunia lasciviret*, lest that other people should grow wanton through too much wealth and idleness, and we in the end be enforced with the Satyrist (b) to confess,

a *Tacit. Ann.* 10.

b *Juvenal.*

Nunc patimur longæ pacis mala; sævior armis
Luxuria incubuit——
We suffer now the harm of a long peace;
Whil'st Riot, worse than war, doth thus increase.

2 Benefits.

2 Honor, by addition of

1 Wealth, by

1 Spoil of the Enemy.

2 Addition of Revenue by subjected territories.

1 Title.

2 Dominion.

The benefits arise from Profit and Honour. The Spoils we have brought away in our *French* & *Spanish* attempts exceeding ever the charge in getting; and the *Revenues* of the subjected Signiories, as *Normandy*, *Aquitain*, &c. supporting with much and vantage the expence in keeping: Our *Honour*, as the Stile of our Kings, by confluence of so many Titles increased; & by accession of so many Territories as we held in *France*, our Dominions and liberties so far inlarged.

5. A more facility to effect than heretofore, by	1. Addition of new strength. 2. Substraction of diversions	The facility to effect this being now more than ever by the addition of strength, and substraction of diversions, in this happy union of the *Britain Empire.*

AN ANSWER TO THE FORMER Arguments made by the command OF HIS HIGHNESS.

AS he can give best Rules to preserve the health of a body natural, that by observing the divers humours, accidents and dispositions thereof, findeth at length the cause from whence it is or well or ill-affected, and so by mixture of Art and Observation sets to his Patient rules of exercise and dyet: so is it in a Kingdom or Commonwealth. If then out of the Registers of Record and Story, the true Remembrancers of Art and Errour in passages of State, it shall appear that

Answers to the former Arguments.

1 Affections of our wiſeſt Princes ever to peace.

2 Forraign expeditions
- 1 Rebellion at home.
- 2 Cauſe of taxations.
- 3 Danger to the State.

3 Confederacy & alliance the means of former victories, no ways to be reſtored as heretofore.

2 Vaſſalage.
1 Endleſs taxations.

that thoſe times which have been glorified with the mightieſt Princes and wiſeſt Counſils would ever acknowledge that (a) *Pax una triumphis Innumeris potior*; one Peace outgoes for worth Innumerable triumphs; That Combuſtions at home were like Meteors, ever kindled in another Region, but ſpent themſelves there; That our men inſtead of *Laurel* and *Olive Garlands* to adorn with victory and peace our Gates and Temples, have ever brought home fire-balls to burn our Cities; That forraign ſpoils have been ſummed up with *Taxes* and *Penury*; That this addition of *Revenue* hath tyed us to a perpetual iſſue of our own Treaſure; That by theſe titles of *Honour* we have bought *Slavery*, and by *extenture* of *Territories*, Danger; And that difficulty either to undertake or purſue any forraign enterpriſe now is much more than in any age before; I think that no *Engliſhman* will either love his own errour ſo much, or his Countrey ſo little, as to adviſe a courſe ſo far eſtranged either from judgement or ſecurity.

(a) *Sil. Ital. lib.* 11.

Examples of the affection of our Kings successively to Peace,

IT is manifest by warrant of our own examples, that the Kings of *England*, except in some heat of Youth, which is not the best director of Counsel, preferred unjust Peace before the justest War; none inthralling their minds with ambitious desires of extending *Territories*, or imaginary humours of licentious Soveraignty; every one willing to pass his time with content of his private fortunes. Upon this ground *Henry* the second gave 30000 marks (a) *Expensarum nomine*, under the notion of expences, to the *French* King, *ut firmior Pax haberetur*, that he might have a firm and setled Peace. His succeeding son *pro quieta clamatione de sorore sua ducenda*, for a peaceable claim to the marriage of his sister, which was like to make a fraction, gave to the *French* King (b) *decem millia librarum*, ten thousand pounds. Three hundred thousand marks *John* gave to the *French* King, to match his calm entrance to a secure peace. Until the Confederacy with (c) *Scotland*, and invading of the Land by *Charls de Valois* the *French* King provoked *Edward* the first, he never disquieted *France* with noise of war, as after he did by the (d) Earls of *Richmond* and *Lancaster*, although *Boniface* the Pope incited him thereunto. His Son, the second *Edward*, *anno* 2. requireth the Bishops and Clergy to pray and offer alms for him, and the people of his State; the words are, (e) *ut Deus nos regat & dirigat in mundi hujus turbinibus*, that God would rule and direct us in the troubles of this world; for that having sought all means with *France* he could for Peace, *ut Guerrarum discrimina vitaret*, that he might avoid the dangers of war, he reaped nothing but bitter-

(a) *Benedictus Monachus in vita H. 2.*

(b) *Ex Matth. Paris pag. 214.*

(c) *Rog. Houeden.*

(d) *Ex additam. Prosperi Aquitaniæ Episc.*

(e) *Rot. Claus. anno secundo E. 3. m. 11.*

nesse,

ness, and detention of his Messengers, Son, and part of his *Duchy* of *Gascoigne*, his Rebels injoying all Protection, and his Merchants all Inhospitality, whose ships his enemy *hostiliter cepit, & Mercatores interfecit*, took in a hostile sort and slew the Merchants. The Parliament *quinto* of *Edward* 3. (a) was especially called to consult how Peace might be procured. In his 17 year (b) the Peers and Commons petition him to labour a peace with *France*, and to sollicite the Pope for mediation. The truce from hence effected he would by no means violate, but in the twentieth year moveth peace by all the offers he (c) can, as *Contracts*, *Intermarriage*, and to take up the Cross with *France*, *in succursum Terræ Sanctæ*, for succour of the Holy Land. But all he could do could abate no whit of the *French* fury, (d) who invaded by themselves *Aquitain*, *England* by the *Scots*, surprizing in breach of Truce his Nobility of *Britain*, whom at *Paris ignominiosè mortis tradidit*, he put to shameful deaths; there and in *Gascoign* murdering the rest of his Subjects, and rasing his Castles nor would upon a second meditation admit any way of peace. War then was left his last refuge; (e) *Et pia Armaquibus nulla nisi in Armis spes est*, War is to that man just and lawful, who hath no hope of help but by war. And this his Clergy was injoyned to open in Sermons, that he might eschew the infamy of *Christian* blood-shed. In his two and twentieth year finding war to have brought to his people (f) *gravia onera & multa mala*, heavy burthens and many mischiefs, as the Record saith, and that the fortune of War *cum splendet frangitur*, when it shineth cleerest is then

(a) *Ex Rot. Par. anno 5 Ed. 3. n. r.*

(b) *Ex Rotul. Parl. anno 17 E. 3.*

(c) *Ex Ro. Francia an. 19. m. 10.*

(d) *Ex Rot. Claus. in dorso 20 E. 3. m. 16. part. 1.*

(e) *Liv. lib. 9.*

(f) *Rot. Claus. anno 2 Ed. 3.*

then nearest breaking; he passed over into *France* to seek peace divers times, and to strengthen his affections with the best hopes, he injoyneth all the Bishops of *England* to offer (a) *devotas preces supplicitèr ad Deum*, humble and devout prayers to God, to direct his actions to Gods glory and the peace of his Countrey, *nec non ad totius Christianitatis commodum*, and the advantage of the whole Christian world; which he believed could not follow but by a firm amity with his neighbours. This is the dislike of war he openeth himself in the five and twentieth year (b) in Parliament, declaring the great means he had wrought to the Pope, but could not effect it. And in the third year after (c) calleth again the body of the State, to devise with him the means to obtain it; for that he saw his Subjects by war so greatly wasted. But (d) when *anno* 29. to redeem himself and subjects from the hard tasks they had undertaken, and to avoid *effusionem sanguinis Christiani, quantum potuit, vel devitare, pacem quæsivit*, the shedding of Christian blood, he sought peace as much as in him lay, and as far as was fitting, sending the Duke of *Lancaster* to *Avignon* in intercession, but all in vain; he stood upon his own strength. By which his confident adversary (the year following captive) that was afore obdurate, justly found, that one hour can overthrow *simul parta & sperata decora*, at once both the honours we enjoy and those we hope for. And we may truly conclude of this Kings success, as *Livy* (e) of the *Romish* fortune, *Propterea bella felicia gessisse, quia justa*, that therefore his wars were prosperous, because they were just.

(a) *Dors. Claus. an.* 22 Ed. 3. *m.* 11. *Similiter* 8 R. 2. *Claus. m.* 34.

(b) *Rot. Parl. anno* 25 E. 3.

(c) *Rot. Parl. anno* 28 E. 3.

(d) *Rot. Parl. anno* 29 E. 3.

(e) *Liv. l.* 5. *Dec.* 5.

To obtain his desire and Subjects quiet, he was contented to disclaim (a) the interest that Right and Fortune had cast upon him. And after, though often again incited, yet never would be drawn to the hazard of war; for *improbe Neptunum accusat qui iterum naufragium facit*, he blames *Neptune* very unjustly who suffers shipwrack the second time: until the *French* King (b) *contra juramentum & formam pacis*, contrary to his oath and the form of peace, had *vexillis explicatis* with banners displayed, invaded his dominions in *France*, and with a Fleet intended to attempt *England*, *ad ipsum Regem viribus subvertendum*, utterly to undo the King by force of Arms.

(a) *Ex Chart. origin. de renunciat. in Thesaur.*

(b) *Claus. anno 45. E. 3.*

Richard the second, whom as well he left Successour to his troubles as to his Kingdom, entred in the decline of his Grandsires fortune, and after many years of war and much loss, had in the end an expectation of peace; which opened to his Commons and Councill in Parliament (c) their longing affection was so much inclined thereto, that they advised the King, though it were in doing homage for *Guien*, *Callis* and the rest, he should not let slip that opportunity.

(c) *Rot. Parl. anno 7 R. 2. n. 17.*

Until *Charles* the Regent had received (d) that dangerous Rebel *Owen Glendowr*, by the name of *Metuendissimi Principis Walliæ*, the most dread Prince of *Wales*, into a strict confederacy against his Master (whom he vouchsafed no other title than *Henricum de Lancastria*) by contract, and had harrowed the Isle of *Wight* by the Duke of *Orleans* and Earl of *Saint Paul*, entred into *Guscoign* himself, and prepared a Fleet and an Army to invade this Land, *Henry*

(d) *Ex contract. origin. inter Owinum Glendower & Regem Franciæ.*

the

might justly write, *Pace Populo Britannico terrâ marique parta, Janum clausi*, having setled *Britain* in peace by Land and sea, I have shut up the door of *Janus* Temple.

Forraign arms the ground of trouble at home, by the

Enemy who to divert will attempt.

Subjects.

wearied with Toyl. Taxation. Feared with the effect of tyranny. Inured to wars can never rest after to a quiet life.

It is evident by our own examples, that for the most part, the Civil or Forraign Armies that have oppressed this State, have been either bred out of our first attempting of others, or out of the grievance of the Nobility and people, either wearied with the toil and charge, or feared with the effect of Tyranny, which might corrupt the good fortune of their King, or else (a plague no less of war) that the better sort inured to command abroad, have forgotten to obey at home, and the inferiour by living there upon rapine and purchase, unwilling here to tye themselves again to order and industry.

Examples of Invasion drawn from the attempts of others.

There is in the Register of State no time that so well expresseth either the danger or damage we underwent in making an adversary, as that of *Edward* the third. Out of many examples I will select some few, beginning with the tenth of his reign; at what time his intention was to attempt somewhat in *France*, but diverted by *Philip*, who, mustring *in partibus Britanniæ ad invadendum*

Vadendum Regnum Angliæ, in the parts of *Britany* to invade the Kingdom of *England*, a Assistant Army, enforced *Edward* the third to fall from his first purpose, and insist upon his own guard: for which cause, to the infinite charge of himself and people, he levied 80000. men out of the Shires of this Kingdom. To withdraw his forces from *France*, in the thirteenth of his reign, they invaded the Realm, and burned the Towns of *Plymouth* and *Southampton*, places that suffered from the same motive the like calamity.

Ex Rot. Scotiæ anno 10 E. 3. m.

In the first of *Richard* the second, after the Battel of *Cressy*, when they feared our too much footing, and we too much believed our own fortune, for she *cito reposcit quod dedit*, quickly calls for back what she gave us; the (a) Duke of *Normandy*, to draw home our forces, levieth an Army of forty thousand men at armes, and forty thousand foot, sharing by idle contracts beforehand with his Confederates not the spoils only, but the Kingdom it self: the Honour and some other portion of benefits he reserved as his own meed; the possessions of many *English* Subjects in pure alms he voweth to the Church of *Normandy*, and to the *French* King an yearly tributary Fee of twenty thousand pound. In these terms this Realm stood almost all the time of *Edward* the third.

(a) *Rot. Parl.*

The Coast-dwellers were so frighted from their habitation, as in the thirteenth year the King commanded the Earl of *Richmond* (b) and other Peers to reside at their border houses; and was enforced in the two and twentieth to injoyn by Ordinance, that none should remove that dwelt within

(b) *Rot. Franc. in dorso. 22 E. 3. m. 6.*

within *sex leucas à mari*, six leagues of th Sea.

It was no whit altered under his successour *Richard* the second; for in his entrance the *Fren* burnt the Town of *Rye*, and in the third year of *Gravesend*. And in the tenth year of his reig to change his intended journey for *France* person, the *French* King prepareth an Army to i vade this Land. This quarrel led us almost in an eternal charge at Sea, and in the Northern limit they and our Neighbours there being tyed of ol in strict assurance of mutual aid: by whose desp rate and perpetual incursion (for *nescit Plebs jejun sinere*, an half-starved rabble fears nothing,) th fattest parts of our borders were left waste, the me and cattle of *England* (as 16. of *Edw.* 2.) *impe tus Scotorum fugientes*, being fled for safety to th Forrests and distant places. The like I find in th first of *Edward* the third; they ever thus inter rupting us in our expeditions into *France*; as i 20 *Ed.* 3. and in the first and second of *Richard* th second, in the fifth of *Henry* the fifth, and in th fourth of *Henry* the eighth, when he undertook his holy voyage against *Lewis* the twelfth.

And either being no less ready to nourish th least spark of Rebellion in this State, as that of th *French* King to counterpoize King *John*; or worl out *Henry* the third from his *Dutchy* of *Normandy*, as *France* did; or moving underhand by th *Duke* of *Britain*, the Earl of *Hartford* to reach the Crown of *Richard* the second, and when he had got the Garland, suborning *Owen Glendowr* (with whom he contracted as *Prince* of *Wales*) to busi the same King at home, that he might divert his intended purpose from *France* or *Scotland*.

When

WHen *Henry* the third had devoured in his mind the Kingdom of *Sicily*, the Nobility finding the expence of Treasure, and fearing the exposing of their own persons, grew so unwilling, that by the bent and course of the record it appeareth (*a*) not the least ground of that rebellion which after drew the King and his Son to so foul conditions. Nobility in dislike of forraign expeditions have rebelled.

(a) *Ex Rot. pat. & claus. de annis* 40, 41, 42 *Hen.* 3.

A judgement there must be between powers and undertakings, that though affections may carry a man to great things, they make him not attempt impossible: for where great minds are not accompanied with great judgements, they overthrow themselves. As in this Prince, who by the *Popes* incitement *simplicitatem Regis circumvenions*, circumventing the King in his honest meaning, (they are the words of the Author (*b*)) intending to rifle the fortunes of others, was in the end inforced to play at dice for his own stake.

(b) *Cominei censura de com. char. cap.* 8.

The *Earls* of *Hartford*, *Bohun* and *Bigot*, made the grounds of their commotions the distaste they took at *Edward* the first for exacting their Service in the quarrel of *Gascoign*, a forraign Countrey. And they might seem to have some colour to refuse, but in a more mannerly fashion, either attendance or charge in recovery or defence of Provinces in *France*, since so many consents in Parliament as (*c*) the twentieth of *Rich.* the second, the sixth and ninth of *Henry* the fourth, the first and seventh of *Henry* the fifth affirm the Commons not to be bound *pour supporter ses Guerres en la terre de France ou Normandie*, to support his wars either in *France* or *Normandy*; declaring no less by publick protestation, than they did by undutiful denial. Burthen of personal service grievous.

(c) *Ex Rot. Parl. de annis* 20 *Rich.* 2. 6. & 9 *Hen.* 4. 1. & 7 *Hen.* 5.

For

Burthen of charge grievous, ground of much trouble and oppression.

For the burden of *Charge*, it was no less distasteful than the former of Service, this Kingdom being as it is said *(a)* of the *Roman* Provinces occasioned by war) made desert, and the people desperate by *Exactions*. In the Conquerours time the Bishop of *Durham* was killed by the tumultuous people, opposing an imposition levyed by him. There was (b) *murmuratio & imprecatio Prælatorum in Regem Joannem*, mutterings and curses from the Prelates against King *John*, for demanding in the eighth of his reign a relief of them and the Laiety for his wars. In the sixteenth year *Cives Londinenses Joannem odio habuerunt pro injustis Exactionibus quibus Regnum fatigaverat*, the *Londoners* detested King *John* for his tiring out the Kingdom with unjust taxations. (c) The sink of his expence in war was so bottomless, that (as the story saith) he was constrained *deskvire quotidie cum incremento*, to grow every day more unreasonable in his carriage towards the Church and Commonwealth, *eas bonis suis variis modis spoliando*, by despoiling them several wayes of their goods. (d) *Hinc secutum est Bellum inter Regem & Barones quod cum morte Joannis solum finem habuit:* This was it which kindled that war betwixt the King and his Barons, which nothing could quench but the death of *John* himself.

(a) *Cicero Epist. ad Att. lib.* 5.

(b) *Ex Radulpho Gogeshal. de anno* 8 *Joannis.*

(c) *Ex Matth. Westm.*

(d) *Ex Matth. Paris hist. minori.*

In the twenty sixth of *Henry* the third, *ob exactionum frequentiam est Regi cum Baronibus contentio*, by reason of the continual exactions there arose a contention betwixt the King and his Barons (e). At the Parlee of peace with them being demanded a reason of that their action, they answer that since he came to the Crown, being not twelve

(e) *Ex Matth. Paris hist. ma. p.* 780.

twelve years, *multoties ei auxilium dederunt*, they had many times supplyed him; and expressing the particulars besides in the same place, he had received *tot Escaetas*, so many Escheats, by the vacancy of rich *Bishopricks*, death of so many *Barons* and others that held of him, that those alone would have made him rich if they had been well imployed. That the *Itinerant Justices* had by amercing the defaults gleaned them so near, that *per illa amerciamenta & alia auxilia priùs data omnes de Regno ita gravarentur & depauperarentur, ut parum aut nihil habeant in Bonis*, by those Amercements and the Subsidies they had formerly given him, all the Kingdom was so crushed and impoverished, that they had little or nothing left them. And that was the ground of their resistance. (a) *Archiepiscopus Cantuarienſis & alii Prælati resistunt Regi*, the Archbishop of *Canterbury* and other Prelates resist the King, when in his fifteenth year he demanded *Scutage*. And although he laid open to the Parliament his great debt *causa bellicæ expeditionis in partibus transmarinis*, occasioned by his forraign expeditions, was answered by *Ranulph Earl of Chester*, the mouth of the Laiety, That in the former Aides *Pecuniam suam effuderunt, quod inde pauperes omnes recesserunt, unde Regi de jure auxilium non debebant*, they had poured out their money so liberally, as that being all impoverished by it, they were not obliged to assist him any farther. And thus (b) dissolved the Parliament.

(a) *Ex Joanne Eversden.*

(b) *Ex hist. Matth. Paris pag.* 32.

The Clergy of the Realm in the twenty fourth of *Edward* the first denyed the demand of *Contribution* (c) *in expeditionem Regis contra Gallos & ad reprimendos Scotos*, towards the Kings expe-

(c) *Ex Matth. westm. Walt. Gisborn.*

dition against the *French*, and the repressing of the *Scots*. And *ob has crebras exactiones magnus fit tumultus inter Regem & Barones*, by reason of these frequent extorsions, there arose a great difference betwixt the King and the Barons.

One of the Articles of treason objected against *Mortimer* (a) in Parliament in the fourth of *Edward* the third, was the offence he bred in the Commonwealth, by causing a Subsidie to be exacted. This humour of the people did somewhat suit with that of the Inhabitants of *Trevers*, (*b*) who stoned to death *Proclerus* for perswading *Theodoret* the *Goth* to crave a Subsidy.

(a) *Rot. Claus. anno* 5 *Ed.* 3.

(b) *Cassiodori Var.*

The Clergy in the twelfth of *Edward* the third, (*c*) deny such a grant of their Wools as the Laiety had yielded to, for supplying the King in his affairs of *France*. The like answer they make the forty fourth of the same King, when he (*d*) demanded in *Parliament* a Subsidy of them and the Commons of 100000*l*. And the same King grown doubtful of his people prest down with Impositions, requireth the Archbishop, (e) *Quod cum Populus Regni sui variis Oneribus, Tallagiis & Impositionibus prægravetur, ut idem Archiepisc. Indulgentiarum muneribus, piis Exhortationibus, & aliis modis, eundum Populum placare studeat, & ipsum Regem excuset*, that since the Subjects of his Kingdom were over-charged with many Burthens, Tallages, and other Impositions, the said Archbishop would by grant of Indulgences, seasonable Exhortations, and other ways endeavour to pacifie the people, and excuse the King.

(c) *Rot. Alm. m.* 22.

(d) *The. Walsingham. Rot. Parl. anno* 44 *E.* 3.

(e) *Rot. Alm.* 12 *E.* 3. *m.* 22.

By reason of the *Census per Capita*, Pol-money imposed by Parliament in the third of *Richard* the second to defray the wars in *France*, there were

were (a) *dira imprecationes in Regem, & magna poſt perturbationes in Regno ex Plebis inſurrectione*, heavy and bitter imprecations againſt the King, which were followed with great troubles in the Nation by the inſurrection of the Commons. And as well in the reign of this King, as ſome other of his Predeceſſours and Succeſſours, the Parliament was ſo tender in grant of Subſidy and other Taxes, that they added into their Act, (b) *quod non trahatur in conſequentiam*, that it ſhould be no example for the future, appointing peculiar Treaſurers of their own to give account upon Oath the next Parliament: and ſuch *Grants*, which they profeſſed to proceed (c) *ex libera & ſpontanea voluntate Dominorum & Comitatuum*, from the free and voluntary grant of the Lords and reſpective Counties, to be void if Conditions on the Kings part were not performed. And this unfortunate King had caſt upon him as an argument of his unworthineſs to govern, the exacting of ſo great Subſidies, and extorting ſo much money from the Shires that ſubmitted their Fortunes unto his mercy.

(a) *Ex Rot. Par. de an.* 2, 3, 5, 7, 8, & 9 *R.* 2. & *Clauſ. anno* 8 *E.* 2.

(b) *Ex chron. S. Albani.*

(c) *Rot. Parl. anno* 1 *H.* 4.

And when *Henry* the ſixth in *anno* 20. would have had a Relief from his Subjects (d) *de aliqua ſumma notabili*, of ſome conſiderable ſumm; he had in anſwer, *Propter inopiam*, &c. *populi illud non poſſe obtineri*, that in regard of the poverty, *&c.* of the people it could not be granted. The like in the twenty fourth of the ſame King. Great men have been diſpoſed ſometimes to humour the waſte of Treaſure in their Princes, either to ſubject Power by Need to their devotion and awe, (for Princes dare moſt offend them whom they have leaſt cauſe to uſe;) or to force Neceſ-

(d) *In Bundel Inquiſitionum, anno* 20. & *anno* 24 *H.* 6.

sity to extend *Prerogative* so far, untill by putting all into Combustion, some may attain unto the end of their Ambition, others the redress of supposed Injuries. (a) Thus did the Faction of *Henry* the fourth in the one, and the Nobility under *Henry* the third in the other; who hereby quitted the State oppressed (as they thought) with the Kings Half-brothers, the *Poictovins* and other Strangers.

(a) *Ex lib. Abbat. de Vanay.*

Subjects fear to have the enemies of their Soveraigns too much weakned, left themselves become Tyrants. And it is in the fartheſt respect in the (b) *Baronage* under *John*, *Henry* his son, and (c) *Edward* the second, to fear as much the absolute Greatness of their Soveraign, as they did the *Diminution* of their own estates. And therefore when they found their King to grow too fast upon any neighbour Adversary, then would they lend their best aid to diminish his power or fortune; left by inlarging himself upon the other that poized his greatness, he might forget and become a Tyrant; as one saith of *Henry* the first, (d) *Assumpserat cornua audacia tam contra Ecclesiam quam Regni universalitatem, Roberto fratre & aliis inimicis edomitis*, having once overcome his brother *Robert* and other enemies, with audacious and presumptuous horns he goared as well the Church, as the rest of the Kingdom, breaking his Seal, his Charter, and his Oath.

(b) *Mat. Paris Hist. min.*

(c) *Ex Adam Merimouth in vita Ed. 2.*

(d) *Mat. Paris Hist. min.*

The memory of this caused the Nobility (e) to call in the *French* Kings Son, when *John* their Soveraign began to know his own authority (as they thought) too much. And the *French* Subjects aided on the other side *Henry* the third against their

(e) *Mat. Par's Hist. majori.*

their Maſter, when he was almoſt cooped up in his *Britain* journey. This (as the Stories report) being a practice uſual in thoſe days.

THe laſt miſchief is the diſpoſition that Military education leaveth in the minds of many; For it is not born with them that they ſo much diſtaſte peace, but proceeds from that cuſtome that hath made in them another nature.

Military Education cauſe of trouble in the ſtate.

It is rarely found that ever Civil troubles of this State were dangerouſly undertaken, but where the plot and purſuit was made by a ſpirit ſo infuſed.

Heads of dangerous Rebellions have been only ſuch as by Command in War have forgot to obey in Peace.

King *John* had been after (a) *ſine Regno* without a Kingdom, as he was at firſt *ſans terre* without land, if his rebenediction had not wrought more upon the diſloyal deſigns of *Fitzwalter* and *Marſhal*, (whom his own elective love had made great in opinion by the *Norman* Services) than either his rebated Sword or blaſted Sceptre could.

(a) *Mat. Paris anno* 5 Joan.

(b) If *Simon Montfort* had not been too much improved in *Experience* and his own Opinion by the many ſervices he underwent in the Government of *Gaſcoign*, he had never ſo much dared againſt Duty, as to come over at the firſt call to make head againſt his Maſter, and purſue him with that fury of Ambition, until he had forced him to redeem the liberty of his perſon by the blaſting of ſo many flowers of his *Imperial Crown*: and to ſet himſelf ſo far below the ſeat of Majeſty, as to capitulate with them upon even conditions, which not performed (I uſe his own words) (c) *Liceat omnibus de Regno noſtro contra nos inſurgere*, it ſhall be lawful for all perſons in our Kingdom to riſe up againſt us, and to do *omnia quæ gra-*

(b) *Willielm. de Riſhanger in Hiſtoria.*

(c) *Ex Chartâ conceſſ. Baronibus anno* 49 *Hen.* 3.

vamen nostrum respiciant, acsi Nobis in nullo tenerentur, so to act all things in reference to the grievances from us upon them, as if they were by no tye obliged to us.

If *Richard Duke* of *York* had never learned to be so great a Souldier at the cost of his Master *Henry* the sixth in another State, he had never disquieted the calm of his Times, or given just occasion to his Opposite *Somerset* to say, That *if he had never learned to play the King by his Regency in* France, *he had never forgot to obey as a Subject when he returned into* England.

Verba Ducis Somerset. contra Ducem Eborac. coram Rege.

Our own times can afford some, whose spirit improved by *Military imployment*, and made wanton with popular applause, might have given instance of these dangers, if good success had been a relative to bad intentions. And every age breeds some exorbitant spirits, who turn the edge of their own sufficiency upon whatsoever they can devour in their ambitious apprehensions, seeking rather a great than a good Fame; and holding it the chiefest Honour to be thought the Wonder of their times: which if they attain to, it is but the condition of Monsters, that are generally much admired, but more abhorred.

But war some may say mouldeth not all men thus: for vertuous men will use their weapons for ornament amongst their Friends, against Enemies for defence. And to those men their own goodness is not safe, *nam Regibus boni quam mali suspectiores sunt*, for Kings suspect good men sooner than bad. Kings must have their Ministers *pares negotiis* fit for their business, and not *supra* above it, or too able for it. For another

mans

mans too-much ſufficiency (as they take it) is a diminution of their reſpectiveneſs, and therefore dangerous.

THe meaner ſort having forgot the toile of their firſt life by inuring themſelves to the liberty of War, which leaveth for the moſt part the lives of men to their own looſeneſs, and the means of getting to their own juſtice, can never again endure either order or labour; and ſo return but to corrupt the Common-wealth with their lawleſs manners. For living more riotouſly than the rapine of forraign victory could warrant, (as for the moſt they do) in contempt of their own private Want and Fortune, they deſire a change of the publick Quiet. In Tumults and Uproars they take leaſt care for their livings, however the world goes they can be no loſers: for like *Silla*'s Army, making no difference between ſacred and profane Robberies, (for the victors Sword ſeldom reacheth either mean or modeſty) they will be ready upon every advantage to pillage their Countrey-men at home. For who can expect men diſſolutely diſciplined can ever uſe their armes with moderation?

Many diſorders in the State by return of the common Souldier.

Againſt the fury of ſuch ſeditious Outrages many Parliaments, as (a) in the twenty ſecond of *Hen.* the ſixth have been ſollicited for redreſs. And that example in (b) *Champaign* after the Peace at *Calis* 1360. where this licentious Rout at the cloſe of thoſe wars ſlew the *Duke* of *Bourbon*, and beſieged the *Pope* at *Avignon*, may ſuffice to expreſs this miſchief.

(a) *Parl. anno 22 Hen. 6.*

(b) *Froiſſard.*

It hath no leſs weakened the bond of mutual Trade; ſince our Merchants, whom the neceſſity

of late times left to recover by force the losses they pretended, do now teach, as a *Maxime* of their Mysterie and our State, That the directest way either to wealth or security is by *Rapine* and Spoil; and to cloak their own ends pretend the common good; as if the State stood by their affections, when in truth they themselves cannot fish but in *aqua turbida* in troubled waters; and therefore would have *Incendium Pittiæ* a bonefire of their Countrey, if it be but to keep warm and awake their own humours.

Exhausting of the people no Necessity but Danger.

THe last motive from Necessity is, the ease War bringeth to a surcharged State. Intending it seemeth *War* but as the Sink, and Souldiers but as the Corruptions of Common-weals; whereas besides the inevitable use of the one, and the noble condition of the other, (an Errour in the argument) Nature doth never oppress further by increase, than she again dischargeth. The breast of the Mother she enableth to nourish up as many as the Womb shall *uno partu* at one birth ever bring forth; proportioning to the number of the Children the condition of their Strength and Appetites. It is then accession of our own that may surcharge; for Parents by such indulgent admission may soon famish whom in Motherly affection they intend to cherish.

But admitting the former ground, whether by this way of waste we be ever able and at pleasure to gage the Issue (when such elective power is left to him only *qui suis stat viribus, non alieno pendet arbitrio*, who stands by his own strength, and not at the pleasure of another) is considerable; since to begin *civis licet, deponere cum victores volunt*,

volunt; is eaſie for any man, but the laying down will be at the Conquerours pleaſure. For the waſting of our people in ambitious Enterprizes (as that for an *Empire* by *Conſtantine* in *France*) left this Land as a prey to the barbarous Frontiers, (a) *omni milite & florida juventutis alacritate ſpoliata*, being left naked of Souldiery, and robbed of the choiceſt flower of youth. And when we were tied to make good our undertaking in *France*, the waſte of our people was ſo great, that to ſupply extremities we took *purgamenta urbium*, the dregs of Towns, (as *Curtius* ſaith of *Alexander*;) (b) Need hiring the *Bankrupts* by protection, as in the twenty ſecond of *Edward* the firſt; and enforcing, againſt the rule of juſtice, the Judges to put *Placita coram eis in reſpectu qui in obſequium Regis profecturi ſunt*, Pleas in the behalf of ſuch as were to go in the Kings ſervice. And as *Tacitus* of a declined Majeſty ſaith, *emunt militem, non legunt*, they buy their Souldiers rather than make choice of them; we made purchaſe of general Pardons of all that were *Uſtegati, Banniti, aut de Feloniis indictati, ſi cum Rege tranſitare voluerint*, out-lawed, excommunicated, or indicted of Felony, in caſe they would go over with the King. As in the ſame year of the former King and in the year after were diſchaged out of all Priſons in the Realm to the number of ninety ſeven notorious Malefactors. (c) And in the eighteenth of *Edward* the ſecond, and eighth of *Edward* the third, and twelfth of *Edward* the fourth we did the like. An army better aſted by Neceſſity than Election to live upon the Enemy; *Quibus ob Egeſtatem & Flagitia maxima pecundi neceſſitudo eſt*, whoſe indigency and former ill way of life muſt needs make

(a) *Beda Hiſt. Eccl. lib.* 1.

(b) *Ex Rot. Franciæ an.* 22 *Ed.* 1.

(c) *Ex Rot. Original. in Arch. Theſaur.*

make them ready for any mischief. In the end of this King last remembred, and entrance of his Heir *Richard* the second, the State began to be sensible of consuming Issue; which not lying in the Kings power (now as the strength of *France*, set on Revenge, stood) to stay at pleasure, (for ——*arma tenenti Omnia dat qui justa negat*—— Deny the Souldiers due, You give him all you have) it was urged to him in Parliament in the (*a*) seventh of his reign, as an *errour* in his Government: whereto he answered, that they ought not to lay the cause upon him, for that together with the Crown the Wars descended unto him. And the *Chancellour* in the fourth of *Henry* the fourth, declared publickly in the Higher House, that by the mischance of War and want of reasonable *Peace*, (for I use the words of the Roll) occasioned by dissensions and private desire, the flower of *Chivalry* and Rock of *Nobless* within the Realm was in a manner consumed.

(a) *Ex Rot. Par. an.* 7 *R.* 2.

Lucan. *Nobilitat cum Plebe perit, luteque vagatur*
Ensis, & à multo revocatus ense pectore ferrum.

The Peer and Peasant falls, and having reft
Bloody the Sword returns from many a breast.

Better to disburthen the state by Colony than War.

And the whole State by war had been thus subverted had not God as a mean raised that King.

But since the end of mans creation is not for the Slaughter, nor education of Armes to make men Cast-aways; the course most answerable either to *Charity*, or *Example*, (for *Rome* did by *Colonies* inlarge and confirm her *Empire*) is to transplant that we may best spare. In *Ireland* we may increase the King many Subjects, and in the *Indies*

God

God many servants : a world from our Forefathers lockt up by divine Providence, as only best to glorifie and purifie these Times. And as in war *conquirendus potius miles quam dimittendus*, Souldiers are rather to be listed than disbanded; so *post bellum vires refovendæ magis quam spargendæ*, after war forces are rather to be cherished than wasted. And thus much in answer of *Necessity*.

Answer to the Arguments of Profit.

Profit of war, Expence of money, Munition and men.

THe profits gained by Forraign Expeditions cannot be any wayes so truly esteemed, as by setting down the expence of Money, Men, and Munition, by which we have made purchase of them. I will therefore deliver as they fall in sequence all the Impositions, *Taxes* and *Lones*, whether by general Grant, or *Prerogative* power levied of the People; summing after up, as I go along the times of our Princes, the number of Men, Ships, and vast *provisions* of Victuals raised to supply the necessity and expence of War.

A summary of all the exactions upon this State from the Conquest to the end of the late Queen.

William the *Conquerour* in the entrance of his Government took of every Hide-land twelve pence a due of the Subjects to the Soveraign both before and since the *Conquest*, to defray such charge as either the defence of the Land from spoil, or the Sea from *Pirats*, should expose the Prince to. It is called *Dane-geld*, *Gelda Regis*, or *Hidage*, and was lessed by the Hide or Plough-land, like to that *Jugatio per jugera* taxation by the acre in *Rome*, yet by no rate definite with this as with another *Exaction*, taken, as the Monk of S. *Albans* (a) saith, *sive per facultates*

(a) *Ex Matth. Paris pag.* 8. & 15.

per

per nefas, by fair means or by foul. He passed over into *France* into the list of charge he ranked the Bishops and Abbots, sessing upon them and at their charge a proportion of Souldiers for his service, exiling many worthy men that opposed this thraldom.

William Rufus.

William Rufus anno 7. set upon the heads of so many as he mustered up for the *French* wars ten shillings a man, and so discharged them. In *an.* 9. he to the same end spoiled the Churches of their Ornaments and *Holy vessels*, and levied four *Hidages* of every Plough-land, (a) *Tributis Angliam non modo abradens, sed excorians*, not only shaving, but even flaying *England* with his impositions: so that wearied with war and expence, *ne respirare potuit Anglia sub ipso suffocata*; *England* was quite stifled by him, and could not so much as breath. (b) *Quid jam non Regibus ausum? Aut quid jam Regno restat Scelus?* What durst not Kings then do? What mischief could the Nation suffer more? in this Kings time.

(a) *Ex antiq. legibus Angliæ.*

(b) *Sillius Italicus.*

(c) *Henry the first* anno 5. *magnam à Regno exegit Pecuniam*, exacted a great summ of his Kingdom, with which he passed into *France*: and by this means (d) *gravabatur terra Anglia oppressionibus multis*. *England* was born down with many oppressions. (e) He took in the tenth year six shillings *Danegeld*. (f) And in the seventeenth *Quod inter eum & Regem Francorum magnum fuit dissidium, Anglia fuit variis depressa Exactionibus, & Bonis sine peccato spoliata*, by means of the great difference betwixt him and the King of *France*, *England* was oppressed with divers exactions, and men spoiled of their goods for no offence at all.

(c) *Ex Hist. Gualt. Cas. born.*

(d) *Ex Hist. Mat. Paris.*

(e) *Ex Hist. Mat. Westm.*

(f) *Ex Hist. Hen. Hunting.*

Of

Of King *Stephen* there need no more than the words of the *Monk* of *Gisborn*, (a) *Poſt annum ſextum Pax nulla, omnes partes terrebat violenta Prædatio*, after the ſixth year of his reign there was no quiet, but all parts of the Land became a prey and ſpoil to violent men. Stephen.

(a) *Ex hiſt. mon. Gisborn.*

Henry the ſecond, alluding not unlike to the *Feoda* given the *Eremitæ* in the decline of the *Empire*, as *Salaries* by which they ſtood bound to defend the Frontiers againſt the Incurſions of the *Barbarous Nations*; continued the Policy of his *Progenitors*, who allotted the Land into ſuch and ſo many equal portions, as might ſeem competent for ſupportation of a Knight or man at Arms; from whom (as occaſion required) they received either ſervice or contribution. This Tenure, now eſteemed a Thraldom, began upon a voluntary and deſired ſubmiſſion; for who from his gift would not of the Prince accept Land upon the like conditions, ſo it toucheth not the Soveraign as a wrong to the Subject, but as in right his own? And therefore reſpecting their firſt immediate dependency upon the Crown, which is a great part of the Kings Honour, their duties and Eſcheats a great benefit, and their attendance by Tenure in war at their own charge to the number of 60216. at the leaſt, (for the Knights Fees in *England* are no leſs) a great eaſe, ſtrength and ſecurity to his State; for they are *totidem Hoſtagia*, ſo many Hoſtages, as *Bracton* ſaith; it were a thing perillous now to alter, after ſuch a current of time and cuſtome. This King to underſtand the better his own ſtrength, *publico præcepit edicto quod quilibet Prælatus & Baro, quot Milites de eo tenerent in Capite publicis ſuis inſtrumentis* Henry 2.

instrumentis significarent, he caused it to be proclaimed that every Prelate and Baron should notifie by publick deed how many Knightships they held of him *in capite*. By this rule of *Scutage*, constant in the number, he levied alwayes his Subsidies and relief, though divers in the rate. Of the first, which was near the beginning of his Reign, there is no record. The second *Scutage*, (a) which was *anno* 5. amounted to 124 *millia librarum argenti*, thousand pounds of silver; which reduced to the standard of our money five shillings the ounce, whereas that was not five groats, will amount to near 400000 *l*. *An*. 7. (b) *Scutagium fuit assessum ad duas Marcas pro Exercitu Tholosæ*, a Scutage was assessed two Marks for the Army at *Tholouse*; which if summed up by the received number of Knights Fees, being 60216 in the hands of the Laiety only, of our moneys cannot be less than 250000 *l*. The like in the next year. In *an* 11. (c) there was an Aid *pro servientibus inveniendis in exercitu*, to find men to serve in the wars, of two pence *de unaquaque libra* in every pound. And 4. *sequentibus annis de singulis libris singulis denariis*, in the four following years a penny in the pound was taken of all men, the estates of mens Fortunes being delivered upon their Oaths. In the fourteenth year a *Scutage* was assessed d) *ad Marcam unam de singulis Feodis*, one Mark on every Fee. And anno 18. (e) *Scutagium pro quolibet Feodo*, a Scutage for every Fee. A Tenth of all moveables was granted in the thirty fifth year of his Reign. In which year dying, (f) 900 *millia librarum in auro & argento, præter utensilia & jocalia, reliquit*, he left in money 900000 pounds, besides Plate and Jewels.

(a) *Ex Gervas. Dorobernen. an.* 1159.

(b) *Ex lib. Rub. in Scrio.*

(c) *Ex Gervas. Dorobornens.*

(d) *Rub. lib. in Scrio.*

(e) *Ex hist. Rossens.*

(f) *Ex hist. Matth. Paris.* Richard 1.

(a) *Richard*

(a) *Richard* the first in the beginning besides *Scutagium Walliæ assessum*, a Scutage assessed upon *Wales* at ten shillings, levied as in the succour of the Holy Land a Subsidy out of all the Moveables in the Realm to his own use; (b) *Et eleemosyna titulo vitium Rapacitatis inclusit*, cloaking his ravenous extortion under the fair name of a pious almes. A contribution there was in the sixth year of 150 (c) *millia marcarum argenti ad pondus Columnienſium*, 150000 marks of silver to pay his ransome; as also a *Scutage* assessed at twenty shillings. In the (d) seventh he imposed for his wants a contribution called *Tenementale*. Extremity (for by his waste and imprisonment he had almost exhausted the wealth of the State) invented *nova & varia prædandi vocabula*, new and sundry words to express his exactions, as *Tacitus* (e) saith, of *Centesima & Quinquagesima*, an hundredth part and a fiftieth part, (names that since have found reception and use with us.) This was two shillings of every Plough-land from the Husbandman, and from the Gentry and Nobility the third part of their Military service. He inforced the *Cistertian Monks* (f) to redeem the same year their woolls *sine Pecuniaria*, at a Fine. For his Army into *Normandy* (g) he took a *Scutage* assessed at twenty shillings. (h) And four years after of every Plowland five shillings, and of every *Burrough* and (i) City *duos palfridos & totidem summarios*, two horses and as many summaries: and of every *Abbot* half as much. Then losing of purpose his great Seal, proclaimed that (k) *Omnes Chartæ & Confirmationes novi Sigilli impressione roborarentur*, all Charters and

(a) *Rub. liber in Scrrio.*

(b) *Ex hist. min. Matth. Paris. Rub. lib.*

(c) *Ex hist. Walt. Coventr.*

(d) *Ex Reg. Hoved. & Walt. Covent.*

(e) *Tacit. annal. 4.*

(f) *Ex Joan. Eversden.*

(g) *Rub. lib. in Scrrio.*

(h) *Ex Walt. Covent.*

(i) *Ex Matth. Paris.*

(k) *Ex charta origin.*

and Assurances should be confirmed by the new Seal. Whereby anew he drew from all men a composition for their Liberties. This fashion was afterwards taken up by some of his Successours; as (a) of *Henry* the third, when all again were enjoyned *qui suis volebant libertatibus gaudere*, as many as would enjoy their Liberties, *renovarent Chartas suas de novo Regis Sigillo*, to renew their Charters from the Kings new Seal. Some reason (b) *Richard* had in the end to become a gatherer, that had not long before by account of *Chancellour Hubert* then *Archbishop*, spent *infra biennium undecies centena millia Marcarum argenti de Regno Anglia*, within less than two years, eleven hundred thousand Marks of silver current English money.

(a) *Ex hist. Mat. Paris p.* 209.

(b) *Ex hist. Rog. Hoveden.*

King John.

His brother *John* succeeding (c) took in the first of his Reign a *Scutage* assessed at two Marks. (d) For the two next years three shillings of every Plow: (e) and the year following, besides a *Scutage* as before, the fortieth part of the Revenues of the Clergy and Laiety. (f) In the fourth year he took the like *Scutage*, and the (g) seventh part of the moveable goods of the *Burdridge* and *Clergy*. A *Scutage* assessed at two Marks (h) in *an.* 5. (i) The like in the sixth and seventh years twenty shillings *Scutage*; and the thirteenth part of Moveables as well of the Church as Laiety in the year following. In (k) *an.* 9. he exacted by redemption of the Concubines of the Clergy a great summ. In the eleventh (l) *extorsit tributum grave, scil.* 140 *millia librarum à viris Ecclesiasticis*, he extorted a great tribute, *viz.* 140000 pounds of the Church-men. And to furnish his Army, (m) *Clericorum Horrea invadit*, he came upon

(c) *Rad. Cogshall & Rub. lib. in Scrio.*

(d) *Ex Rog. Hoveden.*

(e) *Ex Matth. Paris.*

(f) *Lib. Rub. in Scrio.*

(g) *Ex Matth. Paris.*

(h) *Ex lib. Rub. Scrii.*

(i) *Ex Rad. Cogshall.*

(k) *Ex Matth. Paris.*

(l) *Walt. Ventr. & Rad. Cogshall.*

(m) *Ex Mat. Paris.*

upon the Barns of the Clergy. In (a) the twelfth a *Scutage* aſſeſſed at two marks, beſides an exaction (b) of 22000 *l.* from the *Ciſtertian* Monks. He took (c) in the thirteenth year a *Scutage* aſſeſſed at 20 *s.* *pro exercitu Scotiæ*, and another at two marks *pro exercitu Walliæ*, &c. for his *Welch* Army; exacting (d) from the Miniſters of the Church in the year following 400000 marks. (e) And in the ſixteenth year *Scutagium aſſeſſum fuit pro exercitu Pictaviæ ad 3 Marcas*, a Scutage was aſſeſſed at three marks for the Army in *Poictou*. Thus in the ſpace of ſeventeen years the State was delivered but thrice from *Impoſitions*.

(a) *Ex Rad. Cogſhall.*
(b) *Rub. lib. in Scrio.*
(c) *Ex Rad. Cogſhall & Rub. lib. in Scrio.*
(d) *Mat. Paris hiſt. min.*
(e) *Rub. libi in Scrio.*

In the time of *Henry* the third, (f) upon the Clergy, Nobility and Gentry there was aſſeſſed fifteen *Scutages*; one at ten ſhillings, two at twenty, eight at two Marks, and four at forty ſhillings the Knights Fee. (g) The land of the inferiour ſort twice taxed; firſt at two ſhillings, after at half a Mark the Plow. (h) And two Tallages upon the land of the Crown. (i) From out of the Lay Subjects moveable goods hath been taken five times: as the fortieth, the thirtieth, the twentieth and fifteenth parts, (k) and once the ſixteenth of the Clergy for this King. (l) A Tenth he nine times impoſed upon the *Church*: ſix times for a year only, and by it ſelf; once accompanied with the Fifth Fruits: once for three years; and once for five. (m) Beſides two Aides, the one moderate, the other called (n) *gravis exactio*, a heavy exaction, and worthily, if to the eight hundred Marks impoſed upon (o) S. *Ed-*

Henry 3.
(f) *Ex Rub. lib. in Scrio & Joan. Everſden.*
(g) *Mat. Paris, & ex Rot. Clauſ. & finium an. 12, 13, 15, & 19 Hen. 3. & ex lib. Chart. Cantuar. Epiſc.*
(h) *Rot. Pat. anno 8 H. 3.*
(i) *Ex. Tho. Walſingham, & Mat. Paris. Clauſ. anno 19 H. 3.*
(k) *Ex Mat. Weſtmonaſt.*
(l) *Ex ſtatuto an. 4. c. 14. Dorſ. clauſ. anno 16 H. 3. & Everſden.* (m) *Ex lib. Cantuar. Epiſc.* (n) *Ex Everſden & Paris.* (o) *Ex Matth. Paris & Everſden & Dorſ. clauſ. anno 16 H. 3.*

munds Bury all the other *Abbyes* were rated accordingly. (a) And by the accompt of *Willihelmus de Middleton* (b) he received in the time of his Government *de exitu Judaismi* 402000 *l.* And as in all the fifty six years of his reign (excepting five) either the Church or Commonwealth were charged with contribution-money to relieve the expence of war; so were they grieved with other *Exactures*, either for Carriages, or *Victuals*, or personal attendance. In the sixteenth year the inhabitants of *Winchelsey* were enjoyned (c) *ut providerent decem bonas naves & magnas ad transfretandum in Pictaviam in servitium Regis*, to provide ten good and stout ships for the Kings service in *Poictou*. (d) And at another time twenty, *Dunwich* and *Ipswich* five a piece, and the Ports proportionable, all at their own charge. In the same year (e) and for the same service there was transported ten thousand quarters of wheat, five thousand of Oates, and many Bacons. The *Church* not forborn in those charges: For from *Winchester* (f) two thousand quarters of *Wheat* and *Oates*, and one thousand of Beans was taken. (g) The other Bishops and Clergy bearing their parts of victuals in the like *Exactions*, coming —— *ut unda supervenit undæ: acsi esset Anglia puteus inexhaustus*, as wave follows wave, as if *England* were a pit never to be drawn dry. (h) In the twelfth and fourteenth the King levieth Souldiers for his wars beyond Sea, collecting *pro Exercitu suo de singulis duabus Hidis*, upon every two Hides *unum hominem bona secure*, and to bring *secum victualia* victuals with them: and those for whose service the King dispenced, *& quos Rex vult*

(a) *Ex Walt. Gisborn.*
(b) *Rad. Cistrensis, ex Eversden, Paris & lib. Chart. Cant. Archiep. anno 8 H. 6.*
(c) *Ex Joan. Eversden, Pat. an. 3 E. 1. m. 26.*
(d) *Rot. claus. an. 26 Hen. 3.*
(e) *Ex H. Mat. Paris. p. 517.*
(f) *Ex Rot. lib. an. 26 H. 3.*
(g) *Ex Hist. Mat. Paris.*
(h) *Dors. claus. anno 14 H. 3. n. 8. & claus. 12 H. 3. m. 2.*

vult remanere in partibus ſuis, and ſuch as he pleaſed ſhould continue at home, to contribute victuals to thoſe that went for forty dayes: commanding the Sheriffs (*a*) to ſwear all *ad Arma qui poſt eum remanebant in Anglia, in forma qua jurati fuerant tempore Joannis Patris ſui*, to Armes, who ſtayed behind him in *England*, after the manner they were ſworn in the time of King *John* his father; by which Ordinance of King *John* all able Subjects from Youth to decrepit Age were bound to arm themſelves, and be in continual readineſs, (*b*) *à ſero uſque ad mane* from night to morning, (for ſo the Record is) to attend the Kings pleaſure. And therefore *Henry* the third in *anno* 14. (*c*) *mandavit Vicecomitibus quod venire faciant ad exercitum Regis homines juratos ad ferum*, commanded the Sheriffs to ſend all thoſe to his Army who had been ſo ſworn, bringing with them *Loricas*, *Habergiones*, *&c.* Coats of Maile, Habergeons, *&c.* and to ſuch as neglected this ſervice he ſent his Writs, reprehending them at firſt, (d) *jurgatorie eo quòd*, *&c.* tartly for that, *&c.* and after fining them according to their abilities and Tenures: Taking (e) *an.* 26. of *Willihelm. de Umfrevile pro quietatione paſſagii*, for the ſecuring of his paſſage into *Gaſcoign* 100 Marks; and ſo in proportion of many others.

(a) *Clauſ. an.* 14 *H.* 3. *n.* 7.

(b) *Clauſ. an.* 16 *H.* 3. *m.* 11.

(c) *Clauſ. an.* 14 *H.* 3. *m.* 9.

(d) *Clauſ. in Dorſo, an.* 15 *Hen.* 3.

(e) *Rot. finium* 26 *H.* 3. *m.* 4.

Edward the firſt exacted from the land of his Subjects four times *Scutage*, aſſeſſed every time at forty ſhillings the Knights Fee. And once an Aide called *Auxilium novum*, a new Aide, which he farmed out for ready money. Of the Rents of the Clergy he took a Tenth part twice

Edward 1.

for one year, and once for six: and the twentieth part twice from both the *Provinces*, and once for two years from *Canterbury* only.

The possessions of the *Priors Aliens* he seized once into his own hands, putting the *Monks* to a bare Pension of eighteen pence a week. Of the goods of the Clergy he took the thirtieth, the fifteenth, and the fifth part once, the Moiety three times, and the Tenth seven times; whereof the *Grant* was first for two years, and then for three years, and once for six years. (a) Of the goods of the Commons the eighth, and the ninth, and the twelfth part he took once, twice severally the tenth and eleventh, the Sessors being sworn to levy and rate truly. Three times he had the fifteenth part, and once the moiety of a fifteenth. From the Clergy and Laicty together the King had granted of their Moveables a tenth, a fifteenth, and a thirtieth part. Of the Cities and Boroughs, besides a great Loan, once, the seventh and eighth, and twice the sixth part. From the Merchants a twentieth, and a seventh portion once of their Commodities; imposing a new Custome of a Noble upon every Sack of Wool which he let out to Farm. And under pretence of some breach of Amity with those parts whither his Merchants traded, he seized *anno* 22. (b) all the Wools into his hands, and made of them instant Sale to the best value, leaving them upon security to a short price and a long day of payment. He took (c) the same year, to the distaste of the Pope and murmur of the Clergy, all the money gathered in *Subsidium Terræ Sanctæ*, for the succour of the Holy Land, to furnish his Journeys. Upon the per-

(a) *Rot. Pat. anno* 25 *E.* 1. *m.* 3. *sced.*

(b) *Rot. Vascon. anno* 22 *E.* 1 *m.* 8.

(c) *Ex Rot. Vasco. an.* 22 *E.* 1. *m.* 17.

sons

sons of his Subjects he imposed one Tallage, (a) sessed either in *communi* in general, or *per capita* by the Poll. And twice the like upon the *Jews*: whereof the one amounted to fifty thousand Marks. Neither were his people by continual payment (for there was but one year of intermission all his Reign) freed from attendance in their Persons. For in record there appeareth plentifully his writs to the Sheriffs: as (b) *an.* 31. *de peditibus eligendis de tota Anglia*, for the chusing of foot-Souldiers throughout all *England*; and to be found and furnished by their several Countreys; calling (c) his *Earles*, *Barons* and *Knights* to personal service according to their Tenures.

(a) *Ex Rot. Vas. an.* 22 *E.* 1.

(b) *Rot. Pat. anno* 31 *E.* 1.

(c) *Ex Hist. Joan. Eversden.*

His Son the second *Edward* assessed upon the lands of his Subjects twice *Scutage*; once at two Marks, and once at forty shillings the Knights Fee. From the Revenues of the Clergy rated by the book of Tenths, he at distinct times took 4 *d.* 5 *d.* and 12 *d.* in the Mark; and once the fifteenth part of the whole. From the goods of the Clergy a Tenth for three years. And twice (d) a Loan from the Abbots and Bishops. From the Laiety (besides a Tallage of their Moveables) in Cities and Burroughs once a tenth, twice a fifteenth, and twice a twentieth part of their goods. Besides a Loan from the Commons, and ten shillings borrowed upon every Sack of Wool from Merchant Strangers, and a Noble from others. (e) From the Clergy and Laiety together of their goods a tenth, a fifteenth, and twice an eighteenth part, besides a Loane. He augmented his fathers new Custome with an Imposition of a Noble

Edward 2.

(d) *Clauſ. an.* 8 *E.* 2. *m.* 9.

(e) *Clauſ.* 16 *E.* 2. *Clauſ. anno* 12 *E.* 2.

more upon every Sack of Wool. And *anno* 10. (a) *quia exitus Regni sui & terrarum*, because the profits of his Realm and dominions elsewhere, together with all the money granted by the Church and Laiety, *ad sumptus Belli sufficere noluit*, was not enough to defray the charges of his wars, and that he must *infinitam pecuniam effundere*, spend a vast deal of money; he seiseth and increaseth an Imposition upon all Commodities inward and outward to an extream Rate; and caused the Commons in every Shire to lay down money *in depositio* to pay his Souldiers; and took from the Nobility and Gentry a large contribution towards his wars; and seized (b) *omnes Lanas & Coria Mercatorum, data securitate Possessoribus de rationabili pretio postea solvendo*, All the Wools and Hides of the Merchants, giving security to the Owners that a reasonable price should be paid for them afterwards. He charged the Ports and Sea-Towns twelve several years *ad costos suos & sumptibus villarum*, at their own costs, and the charge of the Villages about them, (as the Record saith) to set to Sea in his service Ships furnished *Armis & victualibus*, with Armes and Victuals; sometimes for one moneth, as *anno* 11. (c) sometimes for four as (d) *anno* 12. and sometimes for seven as (e) *anno* 4. the number of Ships more or less as occasion required. In *anno* 17 (f) *Southampton* was charged with six, and an hundred and eighteen Sea-Towns more with rateable proportions for the Kings service. Sometimes, as *anno* 18. (g) embarguing all the Ships in any Port that were of forty Tuns or upwards,

(a) *Ex memor. Sccrii. an.* 10 *E.* 2. *ex parte Rem. Thesaur.*

(b) *Rot. Vascon. anno* 22 *E.* 2. *m.* 13. *in sced.*

(c) *Rot. Scot. anno* 11. *m.* 17.

(d) *Rot. Scot. anno* 12. *m.* 8.

(e) *Rot. Pat. anno* 4 *E.* 2.

(f) *Dors. Claus. anno* 17 *E.* 2. *m.* 11.

(g) *Claus. an.* 18. *m.* 34.

wards, as *an.* 20. or of fifty Tuns and upward, as *an.* 23. (a) *contra hoſtiles aggreſſus Gallorum*, againſt the hoſtile attempts of the *French*. Cauſing the Town of *Southampton anno* 6. (b) to build a Galley for themſelves of an hundred and twenty Oares. Commanding all the Sheriffs for proviſion of Victual, as (c) *anno* 1, 2, 3, 4, 9. to provide *de Exitibus Comitatuum certum pretium*, at the charge of the County a certain Rate, to the proportion ſometimes of thirty thouſand five hundred *Quarters* of Corn and many Bacons, as *anno* 16. (d) and to ſend them to the Kings Army. As alſo (e) *Carrecta & Carracum Equis & Bobus*, Carts and Waggons with Oxen and Horſes out of the Counties ſeverally for the uſe of war. Sometimes he made the Ports to ſend proviſion themſelves, as *anno* 7. (f) and not to ſuffer any Ships with victuals (g) *ibidem diſcariari*, to be there unladed, but to order them by ſecurity for thoſe parts where the Kings Army was lodged.

And not ſparing the Church, exacted (h) his three firſt years *Frumenta & alia victualia pro exercitu ſuo*, Corn and other Victuals for his Army from them.

Beſides the former Charges, the Perſons of Men, as well of the Nobility as meaner rank, were at their own Charge often enjoyned to ſerve by reaſon of the wars. (i) As in *an.* 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, and 16. (k) of this King, when they were called *ſingulatim* man by man, as well Widows as Knights (l) and Noblemen, and ſuch as held forty pound land according to their Tenures, (m) *ſub forisfactura terrarum & Catallorum, Equis & Armis, ſumptibus propriis,*

(a) *Ex Rot. Vaſcon. m.* 29.
(b) *Clauſ. an.* 6 E. 2.
(c) *Rot. Scot. anno* 1, 2, 3. *m.* 10. & *an.* 4. *m.* 5. & *an.* 9. & *Rot. Pat. anno* 10. *m.* 12.
(d) *Rot. Pat. an.* 16. *m.* 3.
(e) *Rot. Scot. anno* 8. *m.* 9.
(f) *Rot. Scot. Dorſo, anno* 7.
(g) *Dorſ. clauſ. anno* 16. *m.* 3.
(h) *Rot. Scot. anno* 1, 2, 3. *m.* 8.
(i) *Rot. Scot. anno* 8 E. 2. *Dorſ. Clauſ. anno* 9.
(k) *Clauſ. an.* 16 E. 2.
(l) *Ex Dorſ. clauſ.* 7 E. 2. *m.* 7.
(m) *Clauſ. an.* 16. *m.* 20.

to appear with Horse and Armes, at their own charge, under penalty of forfeiting their Lands and Chattels; and to provide *de hominibus ad Arma ultra famulos suos consuetos*, men for the service besides their ordinary Servants: according to *Augustus* (a) rule, *Viri Fœmineque ex Censu coacta dare Militem*, both men and women were forced to find their Souldiers. And of this the *Clergy* was not exempted (b) *anno* 16. of this King. And out of every Town one *sumptibus propriis*, at their own charges, for forty dayes, as *anno* 15. or for 60. as *anno* 9. or *pro 7. Septimanis* for seven weeks, as *anno* 4. (c) Sometimes a thousand in one County, as *anno* 3. (d) Sometimes an entire Army of eighteen thousand three hundred, *an.* 11. and (e) forty eight thousand eight hundred at the charge of all the Counties *anno* 15. (f) *London sumptibus Civitatis* at the Cities charge, found 500. men for forty dayes *anno* 12. and the like *anno* 18. *contra insultus Regis Franciæ*, against the invasions of the King of *France*. (h) The King commanded *anno* 16. that all of forty shillings land and upwards should rateably send to his service men; (i) And *an.* 9, 10, 15, and 16. that all *jurati ad arma*, sworn to Armes, or from sixteen to sixty, *secundum Statutum Wincestriæ*, according to the Statute of *Winchester*, should attend their Services. (k) And *anno* 13. injoyned all from twenty to sixty to be armed and victualled at their own charge. (l) And commanded the Sheriffs *annis* 6, 7, 8, 12, 16 and 18. to see all the able men of *England* to furnished, that *Parati sint & muniti ad veniendum ad Regem quando vocati fuerint*, they should be provided and in a readiness to

(a) *Ex Paterculo de Aug.*
(b) *Claus. an. 16. m. 11. & cla. an. 15. m. 19.*
(c) *Rot. Scotiæ anno 3 E. 2. m. 8. Dorso.*
(d) *Rot. Scotiæ an. 11. m. 16.*
(e) *Rot. Pat. an. 15. m. 19.*
(f) *Rot. Scotiæ anno 12. m. 13.*
(g) *Claus. an. 18. m. 13.*
(h) *Rot. Pat. an. 16. m. 27.*
(i) *Rot. Pat. anno 9. m. 22. Dors. Cla. 10. m. 26. Claus. anno 15. m. 13. Rot. Pat. anno 16. m. 27.*
(k) *Rot. Scotiæ anno 13. m. 2.*
(l) *Dors. claus. anno 6. m. 28. Rot. Scotiæ anno 7. m. 2. claus. anno 8. m. 30. claus. an. 16. m. 12. Rot. Scotiæ an. 12. m. 6. Rot. Pat. anno 18. m. 21.*

march

march to the King when he ſhould call them, their weapons to be provided *ad ſumptus Incolarum*, at the charge of their neighbour dwellers: and themſelves enjoyned to muſter and train every ſix weeks. If any neglected his appointed ſervice, there was ſent to the Sheriff *a* a Writ *de habenda illos coram Concilio, qui præmoniti cum venerunt in expeditione Regis*, to bring them before the Council, who knowing of it before, refuſed the expedition, as *anno* 15. 1. the parties impriſoned, and their goods ſeized into the Kings hands, as *b*. and their Goods; the ſecond *cum tota reſidua*, with the remaining parts; at the third, *ſint Corpora eorum ad voluntatem Regis*, their Bodies to be at the Kings diſpoſal; and of Knights, *qui non fuerunt in exercitu Regis*, 20 *l.* *de qualibet Hida*, which were not in the Kings Army, 20 *l.* for every Hide, as *e anno* 13.

a *Rot. clauſ. anno* 15 *E.* 2. *m.* 14.
b *Rot. clauſ. anno* 9. *Rot. Pat. anno* 16. *m.* 12.
c *Rot. clauſ. anno* 15. *m.* 19.
d *Rot. Scotiæ anno* 13 *E.* 2. *m.* 1.
e *clauſ. an.* 13. *m.* 20.

I have the longer inſiſted upon this King, that *tanquam in ſpecula*, as in a glaſs we may behold the intolerable miſeries of the Nobility and Commons, inſeparably accompanying the times of War.

Edward the third charged *f* the lands of his Subjects twice forty ſhillings of every Knights Fee, and five pound ſixteen ſhillings of every Pariſh in the forty eighth year of his Reign. Out of the Goods of the *Commons* he took once the ninth part, and fifteenth of Forreſt and Waſte, twice the tenth, thirteen times a fifteenth for one year, and

Edward 3.
f *Pat. an.* 48 *E.* 3. *m.* 10.

and twice for three years: and once the twentieth part of all moveables, and thirty thouſand Sacks of Woollupon conditions. Of the *Burroughs* and *Cities*, four Tenths, and one for three years. From the *Lords* the tenth Sheaf, Lamb, and Fleece: who with the Biſhops and Knights grant twenty thouſand Sacks of Woll for payment of the Kings debts, giving in the *interim* ſecurity themſelves by Bond to the *Earl* of *Brittain*, to whom their Soveraign ſtood engaged. Of the *Clergie* alone one Tenth for four years, three for three years, and one for one year. Beſides a Contribution in the twelfth of his Reign, ſeizing in the ſame year all the Goods of the *Cluny* and *Ciſtertian Monks*. Of the *Church* and *Laity* together he received ſix times the tenth of all their Moveables. From the *Merchants* and State a Subſidy of Wooll for three years. Impoſing *anno* 33. 26 *s.* 8 *d.* upon every Sack tranſported: which doubled the Impoſitions of his Father and Grandfather. Advancing it after for ſix years to forty ſhillings: and in *anno* 38. (being the year he reſumed his Stile of *France*) to 46 *s.* 4 *d.* the Sack of Wooll. Taking Poundage 6 *d.* of all Commodities inward and outward and enjoyning the Merchants for every Sampler of Wooll tranſported to return in forty ſhillings *Bullion* to his Mint. *a* Himſelf becoming Merchant of all the Tinne in *Devonſhire* and *Cornwall anno* 12. *in auxilium ſupportationis onerum Belli*, to help him bear the burthen of his wars: aſſeſſing upon the heads of his Subjects a fine of 4 *d.* ſeverally *anno* 51. Beſides in *b anno* 20. he took a Loan of the Biſhops, Abbots, Juſtices, *& aliis potentioribus Regni, de diverſis pecuniarum Summis, inter Summas de* 1000 *l. &* 40 *l.* and other

a *Ex Rot. Alman. an.* 12. *m.* 17.

b *Clauſ. an.* 20 *E.* 3. *m.* 22. *in dorſo.*

other wealthy men of his Realm, in ſeveral ſumms of money, betwixt the ſumms of 1000 *l.* and 40 *l.*

In the firſt of his Reign *a* he commandeth all the Sea-towns to attend with Ships his ſervice, *ſumptibus propriis & duplici Eskeppamento*, at their own proper charge, and with double Skippage, and to provide as many as they can of ſixty Tun and upwards. And the year following *b* layeth the like charge upon ſeventy ſix Port-Towns for all Ships of forty Tun and more. And *an.* 10. *c* the like at their own charge, beſides a contribution of money, *d* for payment whereof the Officers are commanded, *ut eas per diſtrictiones & alias punitiones prout expedire viderint compellent*, to force it by diſtraining, and what other puniſhments they ſhall find expedient. Injoyning ſuch Merchants of *London*, *qui ex tranſmarinis paſſagiis lucra adquirunt*, who had traffick in forreign parts, to furniſh Ships for war at their own Charge. *e* And *anno* 13. the *Cinque-Ports* ſet out to ſea thirty Ships, and maintain them during the ſervice, half at their own, half at the Councils charge. Fourſcore Ships being furniſhed and defrayed by the *Out-Ports*, the Admiral directed to embargue all other Ships for the Kings ſervice. *f* And although the Subject found this an infinite grievance, yet could he (upon humble complaint in *Parliament*) receive no further relief, than that the King would not have it otherwiſe than before. *g*

For Proviſion of his Arms, the King took at one time, and at a rate of loſs to the Subject, nineteen thouſand quarters of Grain, two thouſand two hundred Oxen ſalted, and three thouſand Bacons;

a *Clauſ. an.* 1 *E.* 3. *Rot. Scot. anno* 1 *E.* 3.

b *Clauſ. an.* 2 *E.* 3.

c *Clauſ. an.* 10.

d *Rot. Scotiæ anno* 10. *m.* 9. & *Rot. Alman. an.* 12. *m.* 12.

e *Rot. Scotiæ anno* 13 *E.* 3. *m.* 15.

f *Rot. Scotiæ anno* 10 *E.* 3.

g *Rot. Alman. an.* 1 *E.* 3. *m.* 2.

cons; besides of other Provisions an infinite quantity. *a* The like very frequent all his Reign, *pro guerris necessariis, ubi id magis commode fieri poterat*, for the necessities of his wars, where it could be done with more conveniency.

a *Rot. Scotiæ anno* 10. *m.* 17.

The Persons of all his meaner Subjects from sixteen to sixty he causeth *b* to be armed in readiness *ad præmonitionem* 5. *dierum*, at five dayes warning; the *Decrepite* to contribute *ad expensa præmissorum*, towards the expences of the rest: and to arrest the Bodies of the disobedient, that *de ipsis tanquam de inimicis sumat vindictam*, they might be dealt withal as enemies. *c* The Gentry and Nobility supplying the King in his wars, and at their own charge, *d* sometimes with seven or eight hundred men at Arms, and two or three thousand *Archers*, as *anno* 13. with other proportions at divers years following. And the Bishops ordered *e* to furnish *Armis & Equis competentibus*, serviceable Arms and Horses, so many as occasion required: and their Persons (together with the Lay Nobility) commanded *f* *quod sint parati Equis & Armis & toto servitio debito*, with Horse and Arms and all necessary accoutrements to attend the King in his wars.

b *Rot. Scotiæ anno* 1. *m.* 2.

c *Rot. Scotiæ anno* 1.

d *Parla. an.* 13 *E.* 3. *Parla. anno* 14 *E.* 3.

e *Rot. Franc. anno* 46.

f *Claus. an.* 1 *E.* 3. *m.* 1.

These wars (which as *Edward* the third professeth himself in Parliament, *g* could not without his great danger and) loss of *Honour* be maintained, unless by perpetual Aid (from the Subjects) were so grievous to them, that in *anno* 22. they complain in Parliament of the miseries they underwent thereby: As of their Aids advanced to forty shillings Fine, that by law should be but twenty shillings. Their setting forth of men, and the Kings taking of their Victuals without payment;

g *Parl. an.* 22 *E.* 3. *n.* 9.

ment; The Sea left to the charge of their keeping, and from their Wools by way of Subsidy sixty thousand pound yearly exacted without Law; besides the lending of two thousand Sacks, and themselves restrained from transporting any. But such was the Necessity of these times, that neither they had redress of their Complaint, nor the State one year discharged of Contribution all his Reign.

Richard succeeding his Grandfather declareth both 4 *anno* 2. and 14. that the great Wars he was left in, and the Territories he inherited beyond Sea could not be maintained, except the Subject of this Realm gave supply of means thereto. He therefore of the Clergy and Laity took once the tenth of all their lands, and thrice of the goods of the Commons the like entirely, and six times the half, twelve times a fifteenth, and six times the moiety: And had *anno* 21. granted one Tenth to him, and a fifteenth and a half of either of them yearly for the term of life. From out of the Burroughs and Cities thrice a full Tenth, and once a Moiety. Out of all Merchandises he received three years 6 *d.* in the pound, and once 12 *d.* And for every Tun of Wine, and such Commodities, for two years six pence, doubling it for as many, and trebling it for three years after. The Custom of Wolls, *&c.* by *Edward* the first rated at a Noble the Sack, and under his Son increased as much more, was to this King advanced to twenty two shillings eight pence, which singly for eight years he had granted unto him, besides once for three years, and once for four, having it after improved to thirty four shillings four pence, and again to forty three shillings four pence the Sack. Richard 2. a *Parl. an.* 2, & 14. *Rot.* 2. *n.* 2.

The

The summ of one of these Subsidies in *anno* 14. amounted to one hundred and sixty thousand pound. From out of the goods of the Clergie he had eight Tenths and a half; and one out of those and the Laiety together; besides a Loan *anno* 5. of sixty thousand pound. By the poll or heads of all his people from above fifteen years, he collected twice a Contribution, assessed proportional from the *Begger* to the *Duke*: Besides in strength of *Prerogative* only, of every Ship and Fisherman six pence the Ton: the like of *Newcastle* Coals, and of every Last of Corn inwards or outwards the like summ.

To furnish his journey for *Ireland* he took their Horses, Armour, Cattel. (a) *Hinc factus est suis Subditis invisus*, Hereupon he came to be hated by his People, saith the Bishop of *London*. And so it seemed: For at his deposing, it was one of the objected Articles against him.

(a) *Rot. Pat. anno* 2 *R.* 2. *m.* 3.

He the first year of his Reign imposed upon his Subjects, as formerly his Ancestors had done, a personal service *ab anno primo*, That all the Clergie should arme *Armis & Equis competentibus*, with serviceable Horses and Arms, from the age of sixteen to sixty, *& eos in Millenis & Centenis poni faciant*, & cause them to be entred into Regiments and Companies. And two years after commanded all according to their Tenures by service to fit themselves *Equis & Armis*, with Horse & Arms to attend the wars. But these the courses of elder times were about this time much altered, and the King for the most part ever supplyed in his wars by contract with the Nobility and Gentry, to serve him with so many men, and so long, and at such a rate as he and they by Indenture accorded; of which

which there are in the *Pell* plenty yet remaining. Thus under grievous burdens did the State labour continually all his time; for his Treasury being wastefully emptied, was, as *Tacitus* saith of *Tiberius*, (*a*) *Scelere replendum*, to be filled some ill way; by which he meant intolerable racking of the people. Hence it was, that often in this Kings time (*b*) the Subjects humbly beg some ease of the insupportable Tallages.

(a) *Tacit. lib. 2.*

(b) *Rot. Parl. annis 3, 4, & 5 R. 2.*

But he little regarding the tears or groans of his heartless People, answered them as *an. 4.* That their Petition and his Honour could not consist together. (*c*) They again plead extream poverty, in barr of further relief; complaining that good money was transported, and the State enforced to use base; and that the price of Wooll by wars (to their utter impoverishing) was fallen, and that the Kings want was only the ill goverment of his Revenues; and therefore crave to have his present Officers removed; and very hardly would be drawn any more to tax themselves, but conditionally, and with this Limitation, That their money should be received, expended, and accounted for to themselves, and by Treasurers of their own election; and are content to lend in the end; loading this poor Kings dejected Fortune with the reproachful weight of these their many Burthens.

(c) *Rot. Parl. anno 1 H. 4. n. 32.*

Henry the fourth in thirteen years out of the land of his people received twice relief; once *auxilia de medietate Feodorum*, an Aid of the moiety of the Fees, and again a Noble out of every twenty pound throughout all the Realm. Out of the Goods of the Commons four times a Tenth, besides one for three years, and the like one and a half for two. By several grants and years five Fifteens,

Henry 4. 1.

Fifteens, besides one for two and one for three years. Out of Staple Commodities of Woolls, Fells, &c. one Subsidy for one year, four for two apiece, and one for three years. A Poundage at 8 *d.* once, four times twelve pence, whereof the last was for two years. The like number and years of the Tunnage, the first only rated at two shillings, the rest at three shillings the Tun. Out of the Moveables of the Clergie thrice a Tenth, and twice a moiety, as also of every Stipendary Minister, Frier, and such meaner of persons six shillings eight pence apiece. Besides all these, of all he took *anno* 8. a (a) Contribution *ita gravis*, so heavy, that it was granted *ea conditione, ne traheretur in Exemplum, & ut Evidentiæ post datum Computum cremarentur*, upon this condition, that it should not be made an Example to following times, and that after the Account the Evidences should be burnt.

(a) *Hist. Tho. Walsingham.*

Henry 5. Next him succeeded his Son *Henry* the fifth, in whose nine years Reign I find no charge imposed upon the Land of the Subjects. Out of the Goods of the Commons he received six times the tenth and the fifteenth entirely, and once two thirds only of Staple wares: a Subsidy once for four years, and after for life: three shillings Tunnage, and twelve pence poundage for the like terms as the former Subsidies. Thrice he had the Tenth of his Clergy. And in the eighth of his Reign, when the *Chancellor* bewailed to him in Parliament the Feebleness and Poverty of the People by reason of wars and scarcity of money, he (who of as many attempts as he undertook, *totidem fecit Monumenta victoriæ*, raised himself so many Monuments of Victory,) yet for redress and ease of

those

those miseries (as *Livy* saith of an excellent Soldier) *Pacem voluit etiam quia vincere potuit*, he preferred Peace because he knew he could overcome. And left in the ninth year of his Reign a peaceable succession and *Heir*, *nimium felix male suo*, too happy to his own undoing, as the event proved. For retaining nothing *ex paterna Majestate præter speciem nominis*, of his Fathers Greatness more than the specious Name of a Great King, by Fear and Facility he laid the way open to his Factious Ambitious Kindred, to work themselves into popular Favour, and himself into Contempt: which was soon done by leading the easie King by Expence into Extremity, and the People into Burdens. For besides the Resumptions he took of his own and Fathers Grants, (which was of purpose plotted to make a consumption of Duty and Affection towards him) he out of the old inheritance of his Subjects exacted six pence in the pound *anno* 14. and doubled twice that valuation, not only on all lands purchased from the entrance of *Edward* the first, but of all Free-hold and Coppy-hold under 200*l.* and two in twenty of all above. He further imposed first six shillings eight pence, and then twenty shillings upon every Knights Fee. Out of the goods of the Commons he had six tenths, whereof one for three years, besides three moieties, and one third; of fifteens three halfs, one third, and eight entire, of which there was of two a three years grant. Besides these former, out of the Woolls he had 37107 *l.* raised by a moiety of a tenth and fifteenth, and again of all goods six shillings eight pence in the pound. Of the Merchant, of Subsidies rated as in former times, he had them by grant once but for a year; Henry 6.

the like doubled for two, and trebled for three and a half. This Subsidy advanced to thirty three shillings four pence of *Denizens*, and fifty three shillings four pence of *Aliens*. The Sack of Wool was twice granted for four years at a time, and *anno* 31. for term of the Kings life. Besides a Subsidy book of *Aliens* goods, Tonnage and Poundage improved to six shillings eight pence he took in his eighteenth year. And often the Rates of his Fathers time he had it first thrice by his several grants and years, then as often for two years, and again by a new grant for five years, and in the end for term of his life. Of the Clergie he had besides one half of *Dismes*, four entire tenths. And by the State in general *an.* 31. two thousand Archers maintained for half a year at the common Charge. By the *Poll* he exacted *anno* 18. of every Merchant Stranger if a housholder sixteen shillings apiece, if none six pence. And *anno* 27. six shillings eight pence of every such Stranger, and twenty pence of their Clerks. *An.* 31, he had granted for term of life ten pounds a year of all Inhabitants meer *Aliens*, and a third less of *Denizons*, and twenty shillings of every Stranger Merchant that came into the land. The first *Monopolies* I find were grounded upon the extremities of these times; for in *anno* 29. the *Spinellos*, Merchants of *Genua*, had by grant for eight thousand pound the sole Trade of many Staple-Commodities. As the Merchants of *Southampton* had all *Allume* for the like summ. Yet for all the Contributions, Taxes and Shifts, (whereby the impoverished People were enforced to petition redress, for which a Parliament was *anno* 10. summoned only,) the Kings Coffers were so empty, and the yearly Revenues so short, as the Lord Treasurer

Nota *First Monopolie.*

Treasurer was constrained * *an.* 11. to complain in Parliament of the one, and declared there the other to want thirty five thousand pound of the needful expence, as the best motive to work a Relief from the Common-wealth: which was by the people in part effected. (*a*) But by *anno* 18, the debts were swoln again so great, that the Parliament was reinforced not only to see them, but to support and victual his household. Thus was this unhappy Princes Reign all war and waste: and in the end, as one saith of (*b*) *Lepidus*, *a Militibus & a fortuna deseratur*, being forsaken both of Souldiers and Fortune, he was left a while to a disgraced life, *spoliatus quam tueri non poterat dignitate*, and despoiled of that Dignity which he was not able to maintain.

* *Rot. Parl. an.* 11 *H.* 6.

(a) *Rot. Parl. an.* 18 *Hen.* 6. *n.* 38.

(b) *Ex Paterculo.*

Edward the fourth, (*c*) besides two resumptions not only of the Grants of such Kings as he accounted *de facto*, and not *de jure* to Reign, but also of those made by (*d*) himself, and that Sea of profit that by infinite *Attaintures* flowed daily into his Treasury, took notwithstanding of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal only a Tenth of their yearly possessions, and of the Commons six Tenths, three quarters; and the like proportion of Fifteens: A *Benevolence* in *anno* 14. which (*e*) *Fabian* calleth a new Contribution: And charged them (*f*) *anno* 12. with wages of his Archers to a summ of 5111*l.* 7*l.* Of the Merchant he had Tonnage and Poundage for term of life. Besides of Strangers, as well *Denizons* as others, a Subsidy the (*g*) twenty second year of his Reign. Leaving his Kingdom in the next to the few dayes of his son *Edward* the fifth. For,

Edward 4.

(c) *Rot. Parl. an.* 2, & 8 *E.* 4.

(d) *Placita Coronæ.*

(e) *Chron. Fabiani.*

(f) *Rot. Parl. anno* 12 *E.* 4. *n.* 8.

(g) *Rot. Parl.*

Edward 5.

Ostendunt terris hunc tantum Fata, nec ultrà
Esse sinunt.——The Fates only shewed him to the world, and took him away again.

Richard 3. *Richard* his Brother succeeded, *homo ingeniosissime nequam, & facundus malo publico*, a man most ingeniously mischievous, and full of Art to beguile the people. He to make a just semblance of his unjust entry, besides his Act of Parliament full of dangerous Untruths, dissembled the part of an excellent Prince, making the Commons believe by a Statute, to which he gave first form, as like, discharging them for ever from all exactions called *Benevolences*, that his opinion was, *Ditare magis esse Regium quam ditescere*, that it was more King-like to enrich his Subjects, than to grow rich himself. Whereas he did but lively imitate *Nero*, that took away the law *Manlia de vectigalibus*, only *ut gratiosior esset populis*, to ingratiate himself the more with the people. And so all his short Reign I find recorded but once any Tax upon the people, and that was Tenths granted by the Clergie of both Provinces.

Henry 7. *Henry* the seventh succeeding, resumed in the third of his Reign most of the grants of Office made by the Usurper or his Brother, and assessed upon the Land only of his Subjects but one Aid in *anno* 19. out of their Goods and Lands a tenth peny, and of their Goods only three times the Tenth, five Fifteens, besides a Tenth and Fifteenth arising to 120000*l.* He took three Subsidies, whereof the last was not above 36000*l.* (*a*) and one *Benevolence*, the proportion of every Alderman being 300*l.* and the entire summ of the City of *London* 9688*l.* 17*s.* 4*d.* Of the *Clergie* he had twice the Tenth, and 25000*l.*

(a) *Fabian.*

by

by way of *Subsidy.* (a) And of them and the Commons two Loans; the City of *Lond.* rated at 6000 *l.* the other not definite in proportion, but so assessed as Commissioners and the Lenders could agree.

(a) *Ex litera missa Abbatijs. Barking manu Regis H. 7.*

And as well to ease the expence of wars, as issue of the good money going over to *Bullen,* (b) he stamped an allayed Coin then usually termed *Dandeprats:* A course that necessity after enforced his Son and Successors to practise, and is an apparent *Symptome* of a consumed State. But that whereby he heaped up his mass of Treasure, ((c) for he left in Bullion four millions and a half, besides his Plate, Jewels, and rich attire of house) was by sale of Offices, redemption of Penalties, dispencing with Laws, and such like, to a yearly value of 120000 *l.*

(b) *Ex litera Ducis Norfolciæ.*

(c) *Ex lib. Acquit. int. Regem & Dudly R. C.*

His Successor, reaping the fruit of his Fathers labour, gave ease of burthen to the Subjects his first two years; taking within the compass of his other thirty four three Tenths of the Commons, four Fifteens, six Subsidies, whereof that *an.* 4. amounted to 16000 *l.* and that *anno* 7. 110000 *l. Tonnage* he had and *Poundage* once for a year, and after for term of life. Of the Clergie four Tenths by one grant, and three by several, every of them not less than 25084 *l.* Of *Subsidies* he had one of the *Province* of *Canterbury,* another of both; the *Stipendary* Ministers there to be taxed according to the rate of their wages. In *anno* 22. they granted a moiety of all their Goods and Lands, payable by equal portion in five years, every part arising to 95000 *l.* And not long after he had added 150000 *l.* to the yearly Revenues of his Crown, by an inhumane spoil of sacred Monuments, and impious ruine of holy

Henry 8.

Churches, if Gods blessing could have accompanied so foul an Act. And as these former Collections he grounded upon Law, so did he many upon *Prerogative*: As *Benevolences* and Loans from the Clergie and Commons. Of the first there were two remarkable, that in *anno* 17. acted by Commissioners, who as themselves were sworn to Secrecy, so were they to swear all those with whom they conferr or contract. The Rates directed by instructions, as the thirds of all Goods, Offices, Land above 20 *l.* and the fourth under. And although the Recusants (whether from Disobedience or Inability) are threatned with Convention before the Council, Imprisonment, and Confiscation of Goods: yet in the (a) *Design* Original under the Kings hand, it hath so fair a name as an *Amicable* Grant. The other about (b) *an.* 36. exacteth out of all Goods, Offices, Land from forty shillings to 20 *l.* 8 *d.* in the pound, and of all above 12 *d.* And amongst the many Loans, there is none more notorious than that of *an.* 14. (c) which was 10 *l.* in the hundred of all Goods, Jewels, Utensils, and Land from 20 *l.* to 300 *l.* and twenty marks of all above, as far as the Subjects Fortune, revealed by the extremity of his own Oath, would extend. And to stop as well intentions if any had been, as expectations of repayment of such Loans, (d) the Parliament in *an.* 21. acquitteth the King of every Privy Seal or *Letter Missive*.

(a) *Ex originali signat. manu Regis.*

(b) *Ex originali Instructione.*

(c) *Ex instruct. originali an.* 14 *H.* 8.

(d) *Rot. Parl. an.* 21 *H.* 8.

Edward 6.

Edward the sixth his Son, besides Tonnage and Poundage for life, *an.* 1. received of his Lay-Subjects six Fifteens, and of both three Subsidies, leaving one of the Temporalty ungathered: which his Sister *Mary* remitted in *an.* 1. of her reign, yet

Q. Mary.

after

after (incited by the *French* King succouring her Rebels, and suffering her money adulterated in his Dominions, purposely to be hither transported, as also to side the quarrel of *Philip* her husband against him) being drawn into wars, she was inforced to press upon her people, who besides the Loan in *an.* 3. and Tonnage and Poundage *an.* 1. for term of life granted unto her by *Parliament*, took five Fifteens of the Commons, and of them and the Clergie three years Subsidies.

Her Sister of happy memory succeeding, besides divers Loans of her people and others in forreign parts, (as *anno* 5. when *William Herle* was dispatched into *Germany* to take up at Interest for six years great summs of money, the like *anno* 18. from the Merchants of *Colen* and *Hamburgh* upon Bond of the City of *London*, and again of *Spinello* and *Pallavicini* upon the former security, strengthened with the assurance also of many of her chiefest Councellors) had by grant of her Subjects thirty eight Fifteens, twenty Subsidies of the Commons, and eighteen of the Clergie. All which together rose to a summ of two Millions and 800000 *l.* Q. Elizabeth.

HAving thus far (with as light a hand as I could) drawn down the many and mighty burdens of the Common-wealth, it but with a touch of the Princes Extremities beyond the ease of these former helps I heighten up this draught, it will much much more life and lustre express the Figure of wars Misery. (*a*) The Credit of Kings is hath brought so low an ebb, that when by not borrow, but upon usury and extream interest. Princes extremities beyond the ease of their people by reason of wars. Credit of Kings so much impaired, that they could (*a*) *Matth. Paris.*

force of necessity they borrowed money, they could not take it up but by collateral security, and extream Interest. As *Edward* the third in the Patent to (*b*) *William de la Poole* confesseth that *propter defectum pecuniæ negotia sua fuerunt periculosissime retardata*, for want of money his affairs were dangerously delayed, (they are the words of the record.) and the honour of him and his Royal Army *magnæ fuit depressioni patenter expositus, & progressus non sine dedecore suo perpetuò impeditus*, he was brought to a manifest low condition, and his proceeding to his great dishonour had been constantly hindered; if *De la Poole* had not as well supplyed him with the credit of his Security, as with the best ability of his own Purse. For which service he honoured him and his posterity with the degree of *Baronets*, and five hundred pound land of inheritance.

(b) *Rot. Pat. anno* 13 *E.* 3. *m.* 13.

Nota.

The interest of *Henry* 3. *ad plus quam centum quotidie libras ascenderat, ita ut immineret tam Clero quam Populo Angliæ Desolatio & Ruina*, came to more than a hundred pound a day, so that present ruine and desolation hung over the heads as well of the Clergie as the People.

Queen *Mary* (*a*) borrowed in *Flanders* at fourteen in the hundred, besides *Brovage* upon collateral security.

(a) *Ex Instruct. Thomæ Greshami, anno* 1557.

The late *Queen* was enforced (*b*) to the like thrice with Strangers upon the City of *Londons* assurance, as before, and with her (*c*) own Subjects after upon Mortgage of Land. A course more moderate than either that of the first *William*, that took out of *Churches* such money as several men had committed thither for more security:

(b) *Ex Instruct. Willielm. Herle* 16. *Augusti. an.* 5 *Eliz. Similiter.*

(c) *Thomæ Greshami*, 1563 *fo.* 76.

security: (a) or that of *Charles* the fifth, that to repair the waste of his *Italian* wars, went in person to *Barcilona*, to seize into his hands a Mass of money called *Depositum Tabulæ*, which as well Strangers as Subjects had there laid up in Sanctuary. But these are not the conditions of Princes of our times only: for in the lives of *Caligulâ*, *Nero*, and *Vespasian*, *Suetonius* of them severally writeth, *Exhaustus & egenus Calumniis rapinisque intendit animum*, being drawn dry and grown poor, they bent their minds to Calumnies and Rapines. For *Perniciosa res est in Imperante tenuitas*, Want in a Prince is a dangerous thing; and, as *Theodoricus* said, *Periculosissimum animal est Rex pauper*, a Poor King is the most dangerous creature living.

(a) *Ex literâ Edw. Lee orat. Regis H. 8. in Hisp. anno 28.*

It hath abated the Regalities of Houses; *an.* 16. of *Richard* the second and 18. (b) of *Henry* 6. when as well from want of means, as the Subjects Petitions in Parliament, (for *Expeditissima est ratio augendi Census detrahere Sumptibus*, the readiest way to raise the Revenue is to take down Expences,) they have much lessened their Hospitality; their Tables being either defrayed by their Subjects, as of *Henry* the sixth, or as *Henry* the third, when by necessity (c) *ita consueta Regalis Mensæ hospitalitas abbreviata fuit, ut (postpositâ solitâ verecundiâ) cum Abbatibus, Clericis, & viris satis humilibus hospitia quæsivit & prandia*; the wonted hospitality of the Kings Table was sunk so low, that (without farther shame) he many times lodged and dietted with Abbots, Clerks, and very mean Persons.

Kings enforced to abate their hospitality.

(b) *Ex Rot. Par.* 18 H. 6.

(c) *Ex hist. majori Matth. Paris.*

It

Kings enforced to pawn and sell their Dominions.

It hath caused our Kings to *sell* and alienate the *possessions* of the Crown: as *Henry* the third, (a) who gave to *Edward* his son *Licentiam impignorandi terram Vasconiæ*, leave to pawn the *Duchy* of *Gascoign*; And caused himself not long after by the like occasions, to sell for 300000 *l.* (except some pittances reserved) the (b) entire *Signiory* of *Normandy*. What our late Mistris and her Father did, is yet fresh in memory. But this mischief hath trenched deep into the Fortunes and Affections of the Subjects, when Princes to repair the breach of their own Revenues, have often *resumed* the *possessions* of their people; as (c) *Edward* the second *an.* 5, 8, & 10. *Omnes donationes per Regem factas ad damnum & diminutionem Regis & Coronæ suæ*, all the Grants made by the King to the lessening and prejudicing of the King and his Crown. (d) *Richard* the second *anno* 1. did the like of all Grants made to unworthy persons by his Grandfather, and recalled all Patents dated since the fortieth of *Edward* the third. Thus did *Henry* 5. (e) *an.* 1. and (f) *Hen.* 6. in the twenty eighth of his Reign, *Edward* 4. in *anno* 3. and 12. And *Hen.* 7. in *an.* 3. with all Offices of his Crown granted either by the *Usurper* or his Brother. Neither is this in it self unjust, since as well by reason of State as Rules of best Government, the Revenues and Profits (g) *quæ ad sacrum Patrimonium Principis pertinent*, which belong to the sacred Patrimony of the Prince, should remain firm and unbroken.

(a) *Rot. Pat. anno* 51 H. 3. *m.* 17.

(b) *Ex contract. orig. & Hist. Norman.*

(c) *Rot. Vasc.* 5 E. 2. *Rot. finium an.* 8. *Rot. cui titulus, extract. de donationib. a.* 9. & 10 E. 2.

Kings enforced to make Resumption of their Lands.

(d) *Rot. Parl. anno* 1 R. 2.

(e) *Rot. Parl. anno* 1 *Hen.* 5. *n.* 12.

(f) *Rot. Parl. anno* 28 H. 6. & E. 4.

(g) *Ex legibus Theodos. & Valentinian. in Codice.*

Kings enforced to pawn and sell their Jewels.

But when neither Credit, Frugality, or Sale of Lands would stop the gulf of want, our Princes have been so near beset, as with *Nerva*

and

and *Antonius* the *Emperours* to *sell* and *pawn* their *Jewels*. The Archbishop of *York* had power from *Henry* the third *an.* 26. (*a*) (in wars beyond Sea) *impignorandi Jocalia Regis ubicunque in Anglia pro pecunia perquirenda*, to pawn the Kings Jewels any where in *England* to raise money. (*b*) *Edward* the first sendeth *Egidius Audevar ad Jocalia sua impignoranda*, to pawn his Jewels. (*c*) *Edward* the third pawneth his Jewels to pay the *L. Beaumont* and the Strangers their wages in war. The *Black Prince* was constrained to break his Plate into Money to pay his Souldiers.

(*a*) *Rot. Pat. anno* 26 *H.* 3. *m.* 1. *Similiter an.* 56 *H.* 3. *in* 21. *m.*

(*b*) *Rot. Pat. claus. an.* 2 *E.* 1. *m.* 7.

(*c*) *Claus. an.* 1 *E.* 3.

(*d*) *Tho. Walsingham.*

(*e*) *Richard* the second pawned *Vasa aurea & diversa Jocalia*, Vessels of Gold and divers Jewels to Sir *Robert Knowles*. (*f*) *Henry* the fourth *anno* 3. to a Merchant for money *invadidit Tabellam & Trisellas suas Argenteas de Hispania*, ingaged his Tablet and stools of Silver which he had from *Spain*. (*g*) *Henry* the sixth *pawneth* and selleth to the *Cardinal* of *Winchester* and others *an.* 10, 12, *and* 29. (*h*) many parcels of his rich Jewels. And the late *Queen* in the end of her dayes (to ease her Subjects) did the like with many in the Tower.

(*e*) *Ex origin. de anno* 6 *R.* 2. *Rot.* 17.

(*f*) *Pat. an.* 3 *H.* 4. *m.* 3.

(*g*) *Pat. an.* 10 *Hen.* 6. *Pat. anno* 12 *H.* 6. *m.* 13.

(*h*) *Pat. an.* 29 *H.* 6. *m.* 20.

And Extremity hath yet stretched some of our Kings to so high a strain of Shift, that *Edward* the third (*i*) *invadiavit magnum Coronam Anglia*, pawned his Imperial Crown three several times; *an.* 17. *in partibus transmarinis* in forraign parts, and twice to Sir *John Wesenham* his Merchant, first in the (*k*) twenty fourth, and after (*l*) *an.* 30. in whose custody it remained eight years. To *Henry Bishop* of *Winchester* *Henry* the fifth *invadiavit magnam Coronam auream*,

Kings enforced to pawn their Regal Crown.

(*i*) *Pat. Pars* 1. *an.* 17 *E.* 3.

(*k*) *Pat. an.* 24. *m.* 21.

(*l*) *Claus. an.* 30 *E.* 3. *Com. de Ter. Hill.* 38 *E.* 3. *ex parte Rem. Regis.*

ream, gaged his Imperial Crown of Gold in the fifth of his Reign. And when *Henry* the third had laid to gage (a) *omnia Insignia Regalia*, all his Robes and Kingly Ornaments, and upon assurance of redelivery or satisfaction had pawned *Aurum & Jocalia Feretri S. Edwardi Confessoris*, the Gold and Jewels belonging to the Shrine of S. *Edward* the *Confessour*, (A course more moderate than by force to have taken, as *William* the *Conquerour* did the *Chalices* and *Shrines* of other *Churches*, or as (b) *Clement* the seventh, who to pay the Souldiers of *Charles* the fifth melted the Consecrated Vessels) was in the end, when he had neither means of his own left nor reputation with others, constrained to beg relief of his Subjects in this low strain, (c) *Pauper sum, omni destitutus Thesauro; necesse habeo ut me juvetis: nec aliquid erigo nisi per gratiam*: I am poor, and have no Treasure left; ye must needs relieve me: neither do I demand any thing but of your meer love and courtesie: And turning to the Abbot of *Ramsey*, to say, *Amice, obnixe supplico quatenus me juvas mihi centum libras conferendo*, My friend, I beseech thee for Gods sake to help me with an hundred pound: adding withall *majorem Eleemosynam fore sibi juvamen conferre pecuniamve, quam alicui ostiatim mendicanti*, that it would be a greater deed of Charity to contribute to his Wants, than to give to one that begged from door to door. So that of the waste of these times and want of those Princes I may truly with the *Satyrist* say,

Ossa vides Regum vacuis exuta medullis.

Thou seest the Bones of Kings spoil'd of their Marrow.

(a) *Pat. an. 5 H. 3. m. 23. & similiter an. 9. Rot. Pat. an. 51 H. 3. m. 17. & 18.*

(b) *Ex historiâ Guicciardini.*

(a) *Ex hist. S. Albani.*

It

IT now reſteth by ſome few particulars to obſerve with what Wealth we have returned home, loaden with the Spoils of our Enemies; ſince no motives are ſo powerful to the Common greedy People as the hopes of gain, which will eaſily enforce them.

In place of ſpoil the Souldiers return oppreſſed with extream Beggery.

(a) *Ire ſuper gladios, ſuperque Cadavera patrum,*
Et caſos calcare Duces, ——

(a) *Lucan. de Bello Civili lib.* 7.

Tread upon Swords, and on their Fathers Graves,
And ſpurn their ſlaughter'd Captains ——

In the Expeditions of *Henry* the third, their purchaſes were ſo great, that the (b) *Londoners* were more grieved at the intolerable *Beggeries* that the King and his Army brought back, than for the expence of their own moneys: For,

(b) *Mat. Paris pag.* 580.

Cum labor in damno eſt creſcit mortalis egeſtas,

When Toil brings Loſs, Beggary muſt needs increaſe.

The ſame King, although called in by the Nobility of *France* (c) in Faction againſt their Maſter, returned no better rewarded than *Conſumpta pecunia infinita, & Nobilibus & Militibus innumerabilibus vel Morti datis vel infirmitati, vel fame attenuatis, vel ad extremam redactis paupertatem*, with the having ſpent an infinite deal of money, his Nobles and Souldiers without

(c) *Hiſt. Mat. Paris p.* 1358.

As for the imaginary Profit grown by the many rich Spoils at Sea and Attempts in *Spain*, it may be well cast up by two examples of our best Fortunes. The Journey of *Cales* (a) defrayed not the Charge to her Majesty by 64000 *l.* And our times of most advantage by Prizes between (b) *anno* 30, and 34 of the *Queen*, wherein we received but 64644 *l.* defrayed not the Charge of her Navy, arising in the same years to 275761 *l.* As to the greatest Loss, expence of *Christian* Blood, it may well suffice to bemoan with * *Horace*,

(a) *Ex computo deliberat. Domino Thesaur. Burleigh.*

(b) *Ex computo Joannis Hawkins Thesaur. Navis.*

* *Hor. Epo.* 7.

Parumne Campis atque Neptuno superfusam est
Latini sanguinis?
Neque hic Lupis mos nec fuit Leonibus
Unquam; nisi in dispar, feris.

Is there as yet so little Latine Blood
Spilt in the Fields and Floods?
Nor Wolves nor Lions do we ever find
So cruel to their kind.

Forraign Dominions alwaies charge, no benefit.

THe last motive from Utility is increase of Revenues to the publick Treasury by addition of Forreign *Dominions*, Which can receive no answer so full of satisfaction, as to instance the particular Summs, exhausted in every Age to retain them. Beginning first with the *Duchie* of *Normandy*: For retention whereof *William* the *Conquerour* from hence, (as the (c) Author saith) laden *Thesauris innumeris*, with unaccountable Treasure, exacted *sive per fas sive per nefas*, *in Normanniam transfretavit*, gathered together by hook or by crook, wafted

Example in Normandy.

(c) *Mat. Par.*

over

over into *Normandy*. His Son (a) *ad retinendam Normanniam, Angliam excoriavit*, to retain *Normandy* flayed off *Englands* skin. To the same end by (b) *Henry* the first; *Anglia fuit bonis spoliata*, *England* was despoiled of its Goods. His (c) Grand-child took *Scutagium pro Exercitu Normanniæ*, a Scutage for his army in *Normandy* three times at a high rate: and was inforced then against incursions of the *French* to build and man (d) thirteen Castles *de novo & integro*, intirely new.

(a) *Ex legibus antiquis.*
(b) *Ex Walt. Gisborn.*
(c) *Ex lib. Rubro.*
(d) *Ex lib. Pipell.*

Richard the first (e) exacted heavily upon his people, *ut potentes homines Regis Franciæ sibi conciliaret, ut terram propriam Normanniæ tutaretur*, therewith to make himself friends amongst the most powerful Courtiers of *France*, so to keep quietly his possessions in *Normandy*.

(e) *Rad. Cogshall.*

King *John* (f) as wearied with the Charge neglected it: And his Son (g) feeling a burden more than benefit, resigned his interest there for a little Money. When it was again reduced by *Henry* the fifth, (h) the judgement in Council was, That the keeping of it would be no less of expence than to war forth for all *France*. In the quiet possession of his Son *Henry* (i) (*John* Duke of *Bedford* then Regent) this *Duchy* cost the Crown of *England* 10942 *l.* yearly. (k) In *an.* 1d. it appeareth by the Accompts of the Lord *Cromwel* Treasurer of *England*, that out of the Kings Exchequer at *Westminster* the entertainment of the Garrison and Governour was defrayed, the Rents of the Duchy not supporting the charge ordinary. (l) When *Richard* Duke of *York* was in the fifteenth year of *Henry* the sixth *Regent*, the certain Expence over-ballanced the

(f) *Mat. Paris.*
(g) *Ex Archiv. de redit. Norman. tempore H. 3.*
(h) *Ex origin. Instr. Domini Scrope.*
(i) *Ex libro Domini Careu de anno 1. & 2 H. 6.*
(k) *Ex Rot. Par. de an. 11 H. 6.*
(l) *Ex lib. originali Roberti Cotton.*

(a) *Rot. Parl. an.* 17 *H.* 6. *n.* 27.

Receipt 34008 *l.* And *an.* 27. (*a*) the Lord *Hastings Chancellour* of *France* declareth in Parliament, that *Normandy* was not able to maintain it self. But thus it continued not much longer; for this Crown was both eased of the *Duchy* and Charge shortly.

Aquitain, Gascoign, Guien.

(b) *Rot. liber. anno* 26 *H.* 3.

Of the *Principality* of *Aquitain*, the *Duchy* of *Gascoign*, *Guien* and the Members, I find the state thus in record. In the twenty sixth of *Henry* the third, (*b*) there was issued from the Treasurer and Chamberlains at *Westminster* 10000 *l.* for payments in *Gascoign*; besides an infinite proportion of Victuals and Munition thither sent. To retain this *Duchy* in Duty and possession, (*c*) this King was inforced to pawn his Jewels, being *ære alieno graviter obligatus, Thesauris, Donativis, Tallagiis, & extortionibus in Anglia consumptis*; very much indebted, and having spent all his Treasures, Grants, Tallages, and other Extortions in *England*. Besides the people there at his departure *extorserunt ab eo confessionem quadraginta millia Marcarum*, forced an acknowledgment from him of 40000 Marks. And a Story of that time saith of *anno* 38.

(c) *Rot. an.* 22 *H.* 6.

(d) *Mat. Paris pag.* 578.

(d) *Ille per multos labores & expensas inutiliter recuperavit Castra sua propria Vasconiæ*, with a great deal of toile and expence, he unprofitably recovered his own Castles in *Gascoign*; of which the Labour was more than ever the Benefit could be.

(e) *Ex Compt. Willielmi de Wetherhampton, anno* 17 *E.* 2.

And thus it appeareth to have continued; for *an.* 17. (*e*) of *Edward* the second, the money disbursed out of *England* to defray the surcharge there came to 46595 *l.* 9 shillings 7 *d.* besides 29660 *Quarters* of Grain, and of Beeves and Bacons

Bacons an infinite proportion. In the first of *Edward* the third (*a*) the issues of *Gascoign* were 10000 *l.* above the Revenues. The *Signiaries* in *Aquitain* (*b*) cost in eight years, ending the thirty sixth of this King, 192599 *l.* 4 *shill.* 5 *d.* *de receptis forinsecis* only, it was delivered in Parliament, *an.* 1 *Rich.* 2. (*c*) that *Gascoign*, and some few other places that were then held in *France*, cost yearly this Crown 42000 *l.* And in the seventeenth of this King (*d*) a Parliament was summoned for no other cause especial, than to provide money to clear the annual expences of those parts. The charge of *Bordeaux* (*e*) but one Town, surmounting in half a year all Rents and perquisites there 2232 *l.* As *Fronsack* in *Aquitain* 5787 *l.* for double that time; when the intire *Duchy* exceeded not 820 *l.* in yearly Revenues.

(a) *Pat. an.* 1 *E.* 3.
(b) *Ex Comput. Richardi Longley an.* 36 *E.* 3. *in Thesaur. Regis Westmon. in Rot. Aquitaniæ.*
(c) *Rot. Parl. anno* 7 *R.* 2. *m.* 24.
(d) *Rot. Parl. anno* 17 *R.* 2.
(e) *Ex Computo Walt. de Weston.*

The Charge of *Guien* all the Reign of *Henry* the fourth (*f*) was 2200 *l.* annually out of the Exchequer of *England*. By accompt *Aquitain* (besides *Guien* 6606 *l.*) was the (*g*) first of *Henry* the fifth in surplusage of charge 11200 *l.* and the Town of (*h*) *Bordeaux* the five first years of the same King 6815 *l.* In the eleventh of (*i*) *Henry* the sixth, Sir *John Ratcliffe* Steward of *Aquitain* received from the Treasury of *England pro vadiis suis*, &c. 2729 *l.* and for expence in custody of *Fronsack* Castle only he payed 666 *l.* 13 *shill.* the profits of the *Duchy* no wayes able to clear the Accompts.

(f) *Ex Comput. Tho. Swinburn anno* 10 *H.* 4.
(g) *Ex Comput. Joannis Tiptoft an.* 1 *H.* 5.
(h) *Ex Comput. Will. Clifford & Robert. Holme an.* 5 *H.* 5.
(i) *Ex Rot. Par. an.* 11 *H.* 6.

The Benefit we reaped by any footing in *Britany*, may in a few Examples appear. (*k*) *Henry* the third confesseth that *ad defensionem Britanniæ non sufficiebant Angliæ Thesauri, quod jam* Brittany.
(k) *Ex Mat. Paris.*

per triennium comprobavit, that the Treasure of *England* would not suffice to maintain *Britany*, which he had found to be true upon three years tryal: and left in the end *tam laboriosis expensis amplius fatigari*, to tire himself farther with such toilsome expences.

Brest.
(a) *Rot. Parl. anno* 2 R. 2. *Ex Comput. Tho. Parry Cust. Castri de Brest, a.* 9 R. 2.

The Town of *Brest* (*a*) cost *Richard* the second 12000 marks a year, and it stood him in *an.* 9. in 13118 *l.* 18 *shill.*

Callis.
(b) *Ex Comput. Williel. Morwell in Thesaur. Regis.*
(c) *Ex Comput. Richardi Eccleshall de an.* 28, 29, & 30 E. 3.
(d) *Ex. Rot. Par. anno* 2 R. 2.
(e) *Ex Comput. Rob. Thorley.*
(f) *Ex Comput. Simonis de Burg.*
(g) *Ex Comp. Rog. de Wald. an.* 13 R. 2. & 15.
(h) *Ex Comp. Joannis Bernam, an.* 23 R. 2.
(i) *Ex Comput. Ro. Thorley.*
(k) *Ex Comp. Nich. Uske.*

For *Callis*, I will deliver with as much shortness as may be, from the first acquisition until the loss, in every age the Expence (for the most part either out of the Treasury or Customes of *England*,) disbursed. (*b*) From the eighteenth of *Edward* the third, until the one and twentieth, in which space it was taken, the charge amounted to 337400 *l.* 9 *shill.* 4 *d.* *Anno* 28. of the same King for little more than a year 17847 *l.* 5 *shillings*. In *anno* 29. 30581 *l.* 18 *d.* for two years compleat. (*c*) In the thirtieth received by *Richard de Eccleshal* Treasurer of *Callis* from the Bishop of *Winchester* Treasurer of *England*, 17847 *l.* (*d*) And in the year following 26355 *l.* 15 *shill.* (*e*) In the second of *Richard* the second *de receptis forinsecis*, which was money from the Exchequer at *Westminster*, 20000 *l.* for three years compleat. (*f*) *Anno* 5. 19783 *l.* For three years ending (*g*) *anno* 10. 77375 *l.* For the like term until *an.* 13. 48609 *l.* 8 *shill.* And (*h*) for the four succeeding years 90297 *l.* 19 *shill.* And for the last three years of his Reign, 85643 *l.*

From the end of (*i*) *Richard* the second until the fourth of *Henry* the fourth for three years (*k*) 62655 *l.* 17 *shillings*. And for one succeeding,

19783 *l.*

19783 *l.* The Charge in Victual and Proviſion for two years five months in this Kings Reign (*a*) 46519 *l.* 15. *ſhillings.* (a) *Ex Comp. Rob. Thorley.*

In the firſt four and peaceable years of his Son there was iſſued from the Treaſury of *England* (*b*) 86938 *l.* 10 *ſhill.* for this place. And from *anno* 8. until the 9. 65363 *l.* It coſt *Henry* the ſixth (*c*) above all Revenue 9054 *l.* 5 *ſhill.* in *an.* 11. The Subſidies in *England* were *an.* 27. (*d*) levied in Parliament to defray the wages and reparation of *Calis*, And the (*e*) one and thirtieth of this King there was a Fifteen and 2 ſhill. of every Sack of Wool impoſed upon the Subjects here to the ſame end. (*f*) And the Parliament of 33. was aſſembled of purpoſe to order a courſe for diſcharge of wages and expence at *Callis*: and the like authority directed the fourth of *Edward* the fourth, (*g*) that the Souldiers there ſhould receive Victuals, and ſalary from out of the Subſidies of *England*. The diſburſement thereof one year being 12771 *l.* (*h*) And in the ſixteenth of the ſame King for like term there was *de Portu Londoni, Hull, Sancti Botolphi, Poole, & Sandwico*, by the Ports of *London, Hull, Boſton, Pool, and Sandwich*, 12488 *l.* paid to the Treaſury of *Callis*. (*i*) And in *an.* 20. from out of the Cuſtomes of the ſame Ports to the ſame end 12290 *l.* 18 *ſhill.* (*k*) And in 22. 11102 *l.* And the year following 10788 *l.* The ſetled ordinary wages of the Garriſon in this Town yearly was 24 *Hen.* 8. (*l*) 8834 *l.* And about the thirtieth, when the Viſcount *Liſle* was *Deputy*, 8117 *l.* And from the thirtieth of this King to the end of his Son *Edw.* 6. this place did coſt the Crown 371428 *l.* 18 *ſhill.* From the firſt purchaſe of it by *Edw.* 3. until the loſs thereof

(b) *Ex Comp. Rob. Salvin, de an.* 5 *H.* 5.
(c) *Rot. Parl. an* 11 *H.* 6.
(d) *Rot. Parl. anno* 27.
(e) *Rot. Parl. anno* 31.
(f) *Rot. Parl. anno* 33.
(g) *Rot. Parl.* 4 *E.* 4.
(h) *Ex Comp. Majoris Staplæ anno* 1 *R.* 3.
(i) *Ex Comp. origin. inter Chartas Roberti Cotton.*
(k) *Ex Comp. Domini Liſle.*
(l) *Ex lib. de expenſ. Bellor. H.* 8. *& E.* 6. *in Muſæo Com. Salisbur.*

thereof by *Queen Mary*, it was ever a perpetual issue of the Treasure of this Land, which might in continuance have rather grown to be a burthen of Danger to us, than any Fort of Security. For from the waste of money, which is *Nervus Reipublicæ*, the Sinew of a Common-wealth, as *Ulpian* saith, we may conclude with *Tacitus*, *Dissolutionem Imperii docet, si fructus quibus Respub. sustinetur diminuantur*, it foreshews the ruine of an Empire, if that be impaired which should be the sustenance of the Common-wealth. And therefore it was not the worst opinion (at such time as the Captivity of *Francis* the *French* King incited (a) *Henry* the eighth to put off that Kingdom, although in the close *major pars vicit melior*, the greater party out-voted the better,) that to gain any thing in *France* would be more chargeable than profitable, and the keeping more than the enjoying. The issue was in *Tournay*, *Bullen*, and this Town manifest. Besides the jealousie that Nation ever held over our designes and their own liberty. For as *Græcia libera esse non potuit dum Philippus Græciæ Compedes tenuit*, *Greece* could never be free so long as *Philip* had the Fetters of *Greece* in his custody; so as long as by retention of *Calis* we had an easie descent into, and convenient place to trouble the Countrey, a Fetter to intangle them, they neither had assurance of their own quiet, nor we of their Amity. And it was not the least Argument from *Conveniency* in the detention of *Callis* (after the eight years expired of Re-delivery) used by the *Chancellour* of *France*, (b) That we should gain much more in assured peace, which we could never have so long as we were

(a) *Ex litera Archiep. Cant. Card. Wolsey.*

(b) *Ex litera Thomæ Smith Secret. anno 1567. 3 Maii.*

Lords

Lords of that Town, than by any benefit it did or could yield us. It was never but a Pique and Quarrel between the two Realms: For upon every light displeasure, either Princes would take by and by to *Callis*, and make war there. *God* hath made a separation natural betwixt both *Nations*, a sure wall and defence,

Et penitus toto divisos Orbe Britannos;

That is, the English were divided from all the world.

But a little more to inform the weight of these Charges, it is not amiss to touch (by way of comfort) that from which we are so happily by the infinite blessings of God and benignity of a Gracious King delivered; and also that other of burthen still, (though much lightened) until conformity of Affections and designs of Councils shall further effect a Remedy.

The Charge of *Barwick* and the *Frontiers* in (*a*) 20 *Edward* 3. was 3129 *l.* for three years. In the end of *Richard* 2. and entrance of *Henry* 4. (*b*) 10153 *l.* And (*c*) 11 *Henry* 6. the Custody of the Marches 4766 *l.* In the 2 *Mariæ* the annual Charge of *Barwick* was 9413 *l.* (*d*) And in *an.* 2 *Elizabeth* 13430 *l.* And *an.* 26. 12391 *l.*

The Kingdom of *Ireland*, beyond the Revenues, was 29 *E.* 3. (*e*) 2285 *l.* *An.* 30. (*f*) 2880 *l.* and (*g*) *an.* 50. 1808 *l.* All the time of *Richard* 2. (*h*) it never defrayed the charges; And came short in 11 *Henry* 6. 4000 Marks (*i*) of annual issues. The Revenue there in *omnibus exitibus & proficuis*, in all the rents and profits yearly,

(a) *Ex Comp. Joannis Tiptoft.*
(b) *Ex Comp. Hen. Percy, anno* 1 *H.* 4.
(c) *Parl. an.* 11 *H.* 6.
(d) *Ex musæo Com. Salisbury.*
(e) *Ex comp. Williel. de Brumleigh.*
(f) *Ex comp. Nicol. Episc. Meth, an.* 30 *Ed.* 3.
(g) *Ex Comp. Tho. Scurlay. an.* 50 *E.* 3.
(h) *Ex Comp. Joan. Spencer, de annis R.* 2.
(i) *Ex Rot. Par. an.* 11 *H.* 6.

by Accompt of *Cromwel* Lord Treasurer, not above 3040 *l.* But passing over these elder times: in the Reign of the late *Queen*, when the yearly Revenue was not 15000 *l.* the expence for two years (*a*) ending 1571. amounted to 116874 *l.* In *an.* 1584. for less than two years came it to 86983 *l.* (*b*) The charge there in two years of Sir *John Parrots* Government ending 1586. was 116368 *l.* In *anno* 1597. the Receipt not above 25000 *l.* the issue was 91072 *l.* And when in 35 *Elizabeth* the Rents and Profits of that Kingdom exceeded not 27118 *l.* the Disbursement in seven moneths were 171883 *l.* The Charge 1601. (*c*) for nine moneths 167987 *l.* And for the two years following accounted by the allayed money 670403 *l.* And in the first of the King, 84179 *l.* Whose Government although it hath blessed both us and that Kingdom with the benefit of Peace, yet hath it not delivered himself from a large and yearly expence here for supportation of that State out of his own Treasure. And thus far in answer of the Argument from increase of *Revenue* by forraign *Dominions*.

(a) *Ex annot. Dom. Burleigh ex Musæo Com. Salisbury.*

(b) *Ex Comp. Rad. Lane.*

(c) *Ex Comp. in Musæo Com. Salisbury Thesaur. Angliæ.*

Addition of any forraign Title no Honour.

As to the Arguments of *Honour* by addition of Titles and forraign *Territories*, it may suffice in answer, That so long as this Crown was actually possessed of any such *Signiory*, the *Tenure* and Service did ever bring with it a note and badge of *Vassalage*; than which nothing to so free a *Monarch* as the King of *England* (who is (d) *Monarcha in Regno, & tot & tanta habet Privilegia quot Imperator in Imperio*, a Monarch

(d) *Baldus.*

narch in his Kingdom, and hath as many and as large Priviledges therein as an Emperour in his Empire,) could be more in blemish or opposition. To write *Domino Regi nostro Francie*, To our Lord the King of *France*, as during the time we held the *Provinces* in *France*, we usually did in all our Letters and publick Contracts with that Crown, can be called no addition of *Honour*. And whether upon every command to act in person those base services of *Homage* and *Fidelity*, as first in putting off the *Imperial Crown*, the kneeling low at the foot of that King, and taking an Oath to become *Homme liege du Roys de France*, a liege subject to the Kings of *France*, *&c.* we in performing so the duties of a subject, do not much more disparage the dignity of a Soveraign, is no question of doubt. From these considerations of Reputation and Honour, (the greatest stayes that support Majesty, and retain Obedience) our Kings of *England* have as far as to the forfeit of those Signiories, either avoided or refused the services. As King *John* did *Normandy*; and *Edward* the second resigned to his Son the *Duchy* of *Aquitain*, to put off the act of homage from himself, to whom it could not in respect of his Regality but be a dishonour. As appeareth in *Henry* the second, who having made his Son *Consortem Imperii*, a King of *England* with him, *Homagium à Filio noluit* (saith the Record *quia Rex fuit, sed securitatem accepit*; would not receive Homage of him, because he was a King, but took his Security. In the seventeenth of *Richard* the second, the Lords and Justices would not consent to a Peace with *France*, unless the King

Stile of *Normandy* and *Aquitain*, accounted by our Kings a Vassalage.

King might not do *Homage*, they held it so base, supposing thereby the liberty of the Kings Person and Subject wronged. And thus much of the little *Reparation* that either in *Title* or *Territory* those subordinate *Duchies* in *France* added to this Crown.

Title of *France* restrained by petition in Parliament.

As for the *Kingdom* of *France*, the people of *England* were so little in love with that Title, as any *Honour* to them, that by Acts of *Parliament* 14 *Ed.* 3. and 8 *Ed.* 5. they provided that the Subjects of *England* should owe no Obedience to the King as King of *France*, nor the Kingdom of *England* be in any wise subjected by such *Union* to that Crown.

France possessed would leave us to the misery of a Province.

And so much we have ever been in fear of that place, lest it might leave this State to the misery of a *Provincial* Government: as in 17 *H.* 6. the Commons urged to contribute for the recovery of that Crown, answered, that the gaining of any footing in *France* would induce the Kings abode there, and by such absence cause great decay and desolation in this State; besides the transport of our money in the mean time, which would inrich that Countrey, and impoverish the Realm at home, whereby we should justly again say, (a) *Britannia servitutem suam quotidie emit, quotidie poscit*, The *Britains* are every day begging to be slaves, every day giving money for it.

(a) *Tacit. in vita Agricolæ.*

To enterprise any war, not so easie.

THe last motive is, the advantage we now have of greater *Facility* and *assurance* of Success in any forreign enterprise, by this happy *Union* of both Kingdoms, than ever any of our Ancestors had.

To

To which in anſwer nothing can be more full, than laying down the motives and means that led on the Kings of this Realm to attempt and proſperouſly effect their undertakings in other parts, weigh how they ſuit theſe times, and whether that any or all the advantages we now have, may be to them of equal worth and valuation. The firſt conſideration is in *Place*, the next in *Perſon*. In the wars of *France* (whether thoſe for the defence of particular *Signiories*, or competition of the intire Kingdom) we had ever Ports to land at, and Forts to retire to, which now we have not. The coaſt of *Normandy* was our own, by which we might enter the midſt of *France*. And *Edward* the third when he intended to annoy the Eaſt part, ſided with *Montfort* againſt *Charles de Blois*, whom he inveſted with the *Dutchy* of *Britain*, that ſo he might have there an eaſie footing. Thus by leave of his Confederates in *Flanders* he had ſafe entrance for all his Army to invade the other ſide, and a ſure retreat, when upon any occaſion he would come back, as he did to *Antwerp*. And whereſoever any Army may have a quiet deſcent, the greateſt difficulty is overcome; for the reſt conſiſteth in *Chance*, wherein Fortune is rather wont to prevail than *Vertue*. But (a) *ibi grave eſt Bellum gerere, ubi nullus eſt Claſſi Portus apertus, non ager pacatus, non Civitas ſocia, non conſiſtendi aut procedendi locus, quocunq; circumſpexeris hoſtilia ſunt omnia*; There 'tis a hard task to wage war, where there is no Port open for our Navy, the Countrey our enemy, no City our Confederate, no place to make a ſtand or to march out from, but whitherſoever a man looks, he can ſee nothing but hoſtile intentions againſt us. And this muſt be now our caſe, which was never our Anceſtors.

Means of ſucceſs formerly.

Advantage of Place and Party.

Advantage of Place.

(a) *Livius lib. 28.*

Ad-

Advantage personal was either

A Party found made

For the *Persons* considerable, the are the Subjects to our enemies, or our own Confederates. Of the first, our Kings heretofore did either work on the opportunity of any dissention ministred, or by Pension and Reward either make a fraction in Obedience, or Neutrality, in Assistance with the Subjects of their Adversary. The *Dukes of Burgundy*, *Earls* of *Britain*, *Dreux* and others in *France*, offended with their Sovereign, (a) *Confœderati erant Comiti Britanniæ Henrico & Regi Angliæ*, became Confederates with *Henry* Earl of *Britain* and King of *England*; and thereupon drew him over into *Britain*. (b) The same King by yearly Pensions of 7000 *l.* kept divers in *Poitou* in fraction against their Lord and their own Loyalty. *Edw.* 3. had never undertaken the conquest of *France*, if (c) *Robert de Artoys* (displeased with the Sentence of *Philip* his Master for that *Earldom*) had not incited and complotted for him, as *Godfrey* of *Harecourt* did after. Nor *Henry* (d) 5. if the unsound memory of the *French* King, the jealousie of those Princes and *Orleantial Faction* had not made his way and Fortune.

(a) *Matth. Paris in vita H.* 3.

(b) *Matth. Par. vita H.* 3.

(c) *Froissard.*

(d) *Walsingham. T. Livius Forolivienſis in vita H.* 5.

Confederates were the only ground of all the good success.

Confederates.

THe Confederates our Kings held formerly for mutual Aid were of such consequence in all their affairs,

fairs, that those so best strengthened atchieved ever the greatest and most glorious victories. As the first and third *Edwards*, the fifth and eighth *Henries*. Whereas *Henry* the sixth, that was of all the rest left most naked to himself, although the greatest otherwise in opportunity, lost all the purchase of his Ancestors in the end. It is not amiss in such a foundation of Greatness as Confederacy, to lay down successively, first, with whom we tyed that knot of love; then, what were the motives, or assurances; and lastly, whether the same in both is left to our occasions, and will now or no.

A list of all the Confederates from *Hen.* the firsts Reign to the end of the last Queen. Henry 2.

Henry the first, but to assure his own possessions beyond Sea, (a) *adscivit in praesidium Comitem Britanniæ, & Theobaldum Comitem Blesensem*, called to his aid the Earl of *Britain*, and *Theobald* Earl of *Bloys*.

Henry the second did the like with (b) *Robert* Earl of *Flanders*. And again (c) *cum Theodorico Comite Flandriæ, Baronibus, Castellanis, & cæteris hominibus Comitis*, with *Theodoric* Earl of *Flanders*, the Barons, Governours of Castles, and other the Subjects of the said Earl; who stood bound to serve him *in summonitione sua, sicut Domino, pro feodis quæ de ipso teneant*, upon a summons, as well as their own Lord, for the Fees which they held of him.

Baldwin Earl of *Flanders* contracteth under Bond (d) *mutui subsidii, quod sine Rege Richardo Angliæ non componeret cum Rege Francorum*, of mutual aid, that he would not come to agreement with the *French* King without *Richard* King of *England*. And the (e) *Britains*

Richard 2.

(a) *Ex Contract. orig. in Arch. Thes. west.*

(b) *Ex Radulph. de Diceto.*

(c) *Ex orig. signat. à Comite & Castellanis, in Thes. west.*

(d) *Ex Radulph. de Diceto.*

(e) *Matth. Paris* 184.

tains reliêto Rege Francie Regi Richardo adhæserunt, forsaking the King of *France*, did joyn with King *Richard*.

King John.
(a) *Indorso Cla. an.* 1 *Joannis.*
(b) *Ex orig. in Thes. westm.*

Between King *John* (*a*) and the Earl of *Flanders* there was a Combination *mutui auxilii contra Regem Francorum*, of mutual assistance against the *French* King. (*b*) The like with the City of *Doway* and Earl of *Holland*.

Henry 3.
(c) *Dors. pat.* 11 H. 3. *m.* 11.
(d) *Rot. lib. an.* 14 H. 3. *m.* 7. *ex originali.*

Hen. 3. *anno* 11. drew (*c*) *Peter* Duke of *Britany* into Confederacy against the *French*; and *Fernand* Earl of *Flanders* with a Pension annual of five hundred Marks. (*d*) And *anno* 38. *Alfonsus* King of *Castile* combineth with him and his heirs *contra omnes homines in mundo*, against all the men in the World. To whom he remained so constant, that *an.* 8. and 10 *Edw.* 1. he would not grant a Truce to the *French* King, but *ad preces & instantiam* at the instant suit of the King of *England*.

Edward 1.
(e) *Clauf. an.* 13 *Edw.* 1.
(f) *Ex origin. in Thesaur.*
(g) *Rot. Vascon. an.* 20. *m.* 19.
(h) *Rot. Alman. de an.* 22. *&* 31. *m.* 13.
(i) *Ex origin. sub sigillo in Thes. westm.*
(k) *Rot. Alman. an.* 31. *m.* 14.
(l) *Dors. Rot. Alman.* 18.

Edward 1. *an.* 13. (*e*) by a pretence of intermarriage drew *Florence* Earl of *Holland* from the *French* to his party; (*f*) and the year following, by the mediation of the Lord of *Blackmont*, the Earl of *Flanders*, who in (*g*) *an.* 20. assisted him in the wars of *Gascoign*. (*h*) In the 22. he combined with *Adolph* King of the *Romans*, and the Earl of *Gueldres*; tying the Nobility of *Burgundy* with a yearly donative of 30000 *l. Turonenſium* to aid him *contra Regem Francie*, against the *French* King. (*i*) He had *Guido* Earl of *Flanders* and *Philip* his son for 100000 *l. Turonenſium* in pay against the *French* King, *an.* 24, 25, and 31. of his Reign; (*k*) retaining the Earl of *Gueldres* by pay of 1000000 *l.* the Duke of *Lorrain* by 160000 *l.* (*l*) the Nobility

Nobility of *Burgundy* by a Pension of 30000 *l.* and *Wallerand* Lord of *Montay* by 300 *l. Turonenſium* in his ſervice the ſame year. (*a*) And in *anno* 34. *Reginaldum Comitem Montis Beliardi & alios de Burgundia contra Regem Franciæ*, *Reginald* Earl of *Mont-Belliard* and other *Burgundians* againſt the King of *France*. (a) *Rot. Pat. an.* 34. *m.* 24.

Edward the ſecond had (*b*) *auxilium tam maritimum quam terreſtre à Genoeſibus*, aſſiſtance as well by Sea as by Land from the *Genoeſes*. (*c*) And in *anno* 18. beſides his Alliance with *Flanders*, *John Protector* of *Caſtile* aideth him *contra Gallos cum* 1000. *equitibus & peditibus*, *& Scutiferis* 10000. againſt the *French* with 1000. horſe and foot, and 10000. other armed men. Edward 2. (b) *Rot. Vaſco. an.* 9. & 11. (c) *Dorſ. clauſ. an.* 18. *m.* 7.

Edward the third (*d*) had by the Marriage of *Philip*, the Earl of *Henault* and *Holland* her Father aſſured to him; and retained *John* of *Henault* and his Followers, (*e*) *qui venerunt in auxilium ad rogatum Regis*, who came to aſſiſt the King at his call, with a Salary of 14000 *l.* yearly. Before he adventured to avow and maintain his Challenge to the Kingdom of *France*, (*f*) he made up to his party *Lodowick* the *Emperour*, (who the better to countenance his enterpriſe, elected him *Vicarium Imperii*, Vicar of the Empire.) (*g*) *Reginald* Earl of *Gueldres*, *Lewis* Marqueſs of *Brandenburg*, *Conrade* Lord of *Hard*, who ſerved him with fifty men at Arms, the *Cardinal* of *Genoa* and his Nephew, who aided him with *Gallies*, the Magiſtrates of *Colen*, *Bruxells*, *Lorrain* and *Mechlin*, and (*h*) *Jaques de Arteville* head of the *Gantois* Faction; who having quitted Edward 3. (d) *Froiſard.* (e) *Rot. liberat.* 2. *m.* 6. (f) *Rot. Alman. anno* 11. (g) *Rot. Anglo. anno* 12. (h) *Froiſard.*

quitted all duty to the banished *Earl*, submitted themselves and most of *Flanders* to the service and protection of *Edward* the third, who to free them of two Millions of Crowns, wherein, as a Caution of obedience to the Crown of *France*, (*a*) they stood bound as well by Oath as Obligation, took upon him the Title of King of *France*, and imployed *John* Duke of *Brabant* and *Lorrain*, *William* Marques of *Juliers*, and the Earl of *Henault* and *Holland*, his assured Friends, *Procuratores suos ad vendicandum Regnum Franciæ*, his Procurators to claim the Crown of *France*. (*b*) These his Allies not long after meeting him at *Tournay* with one hundred thousand men, as *Robert de Artoys* did with fifty thousand at S. *Omers* against the *French* King. And thus he attired and furnished his first enterprise, weaving into his Faction and support more and more, as often as either pretence or just occasions would give him leave. By (*c*) colour of Marriage he drew in the King of *Sicily* in the eighteenth year, the Duke of *Millain*, and the King of *Castile* for mutual aid; and (*d*) *Simon Butangre* Duke of *Genoa*, and his Subjects for hire and reward. In the ninteenth year (*e*) the questionable Title of the *Duchy* of *Britain* assured him of *John de Montford*; against whom the (*f*) *French* King maintained *Charles de Bloys* for that *Duchy*. In *anno* 24. (*g*) he renewed the Contract with the *Genoeses*; and in the thirtieth made a convention of Peace, *& mutui auxili cum Rege Navarræ*, and of mutal aid, with the King of *Navarre*. In (*h*) the thirty seventh with *Peter* King of *Castile*: and in that and the one and fortieth (*i*) an alliance of Aid and Amity he entred with the

(a) *Ex Rot. Antwerp. an.* 12.

(b) *Rot. Parl. anno* 14. *n.* 8.

(c) *Claus. an.* 18. *m.* 25.

(d) *Dors. claus. an.* 18. *m.* 20.

(e) *Dors. claus. an.* 19. *m.* 14.

(f) *Froisard.*

(g) *Rot. Pat. an.* 24. *n.* 8.

(h) *Ex originali de an.* 7. *in lib. Rob. Cot.*

(i) *Ex orig. in Thes. West. de an.* 37. *&* 41.

Duke

Duke of *Britain*: and *anno* 45. (*a*) again with the *Genoeſes* and *Lewis* Earl of *Flanders* and Duke of *Brabant*; (*b*) and *an.* 46. with *Ferdinand* King of *Portugal*.

Richard the ſecond reneweth (*c*) in *anno* 1. the confederation that his Grandfather had with the Duke of *Britain*; and with whom *anno* 3. he contracted anew, as he had done *anno* 2. with *Lewis* (*d*) Earl of *Flanders*. In the ſixth (*e*) year he combineth with the *Flemings* (*f*) *contra inimicos communes*, againſt the enemies of them both; with (*g*) the Kings of *Naples*, *Sicily*, *Navarre* and *Arragon*, *de mutuis auxiliis*, for mutual aid; (*h*) and with *Winceſlaus* the Emperour *Contra Carolum Regem Franciæ & Robertum Regem Scotiæ*, againſt *Charles* King of *France*; and *Robert* King of *Scotland*. In *anno* 8. (*i*) with the Kings of *Jeruſalem*, *Sicily*, and *Portugal*. In the tenth with *Portugal*, who at his own charges aided this King with ten *Galleys*. And with *William* Duke of *Gueldres de mutuis auxiliis*, for mutual aid. And *anno* 12. (*k*) 18. and 19. with *Albert* Duke of *Bavaria*. (*l*) And *an.* 20. with the Earl of *Oſtrenant de retinentiis contra Regem Franciæ*, againſt the King of *France*. And *Rupertus Count Palatine* of the *Rhene anno* 20. became a *Homager* for term of life to this King.

Henry the fourth entred alliance (*m*) of mutual aid in two years with *William* Duke of *Gueldres* and *Mons*. (*n*) In the twelfth with *Sigiſmund* King of *Hungaria*. (*o*) And in the thirteenth by ſiding with the Factions of the Dukes of *Berry* and *Orleans*, laid the baſis upon which his Son that ſucceeded reared the Trophies of his Renown.

(a) *Ex orig. ſub ſigillo.*
(b) *Ex Contract. origin. in Archiv. Theſ. Wſtm.*
(c) *Clauſ. an* 1 *R.* 2. Richard 2.
(d) *Rot. Franc. anno* 2.
(e) *Ex orig. in Theſ.*
(f) *Rot. Parl. anno* 6. *n.* 11.
(g) *Ex Contract. in lib. Italico Rob. Cotton.*
(h) *Rot. Franc. an.* 6. *m.* 28.
(i) *Rot. Franc. an.* 12. *m.* 16. *& an.* 18. *&* 19.
(k) *Rot. Franc. an.* 12. *m.* 16. *& an.* 18. *&* 19.
(l) *Rot. Franc. an.* 20. *m.* 21.
(m) *Rot. clauſ. an.* 2. *H.* 4. *& Rot. Fran. an.* 2 *&* 3 *H.* 4. *m.* 6. Henry 4.
(n) *Rot. Franc. an.* 12. *H.* 4. *m.* 21. Henry 5.
(o) *Tho. Walſingham.*

For *Henry* the fifth going forward upon the Advantage left and daily offered, ſtrengthened himſelf *anno* 4. (*a*) by a League perpetual with *Sigiſmund* the Emperour; renewing that of *Richard* the ſecond (*b*) with *John* King of *Portugal*, as his Father had done. He entred a contract with the Duke of *Britain*, and with the *Queen* of *Jeruſalem* and *Lewis* her Son for the *Duchy* of *Anjou* and *Mayn*; and with the King of *Portugal* and Duke of *Bavaria* for ſupply of Men and Munition by them performed. (*c*) And the year before the Battel of *Agincourt* ſendeth the Lord *Henry Scrope* to contract with the Duke of *Burgundy* (*d*) and his Retinue for Wages in *ſervitio ſuo in Regno Franciæ vel Ducatu Aquitaniæ*, in his ſervice in the Kingdom of *France*, or the Duchy of *Aquitain*; eſteeming the alliance of that houſe the readieſt means to attain his end.

(a) *Ex Rot. Parl. an.* 4.

(b) *Ex Orig. in Theſ. Weſtm.*

(c) *Ex Chron. Rogeri Wall. in vita H.* 5. *an.* 5. *&* 8.

(d) *Ex Inſtruct. orig.* 31 *Aug.* 5 *H.* 5.

Henry 6.

Henry the ſixth (*i*) ſo long as he held the Amity of *Britain* (for which he contracted) and the confederacy of *Burgundy*, his friend of eldeſt aſſurance and beſt advantage, which he did to the ſixteenth year of his Government, there was no great decline of his Fortune in *France*. But when *Burgundy* (*f*) brake the bond of our aſſurance, and betook him to the Amity of *France*, and dealt with this Crown, but as a Merchant by way of intercourſe, firſt at the Treaty of (*g*) *Bruges* 1442. then at (*h*) *Calliſe* 1446. the reputation and intereſt we held in *France* declined faſter in the ſetting of this Son, than ever it increaſed in the riſing of the Father.

(e) *Ex Contract. origin.*

(f) *Ex Tractat. Alrabatenſi.*

(g) *Ex Tract. Brugenſ.* 1442.

(h) *Ex Tract. Caliſie* 1445. *Ex Tract. Bruxellenſi* 1446.

And *Edward* the fourth who ſucceeded, ſenſible of this loſs, wooed by all the means either of Intercourſe or Marriage to win again the houſe

house of *Burgundy* (*a*) which in *anno* 7. he did, to joyn for the recovery of his right in *France*. (*b*) And drew in the year following, the Duke of *Britain* to that Confederacy. In the (*c*) eleventh year he renewed with *Charles* of *Burgundy* the bond of mutual Aid; and contracted the next (*d*) year the like with the King of *Portugal*. And in *an.* 14. *pro recuperatione Regni Franciæ contra Ludovicum Usurpantem*, for the recovery of the Kingdom of *France* out of the hands of *Lewis* the Usurper, ((*e*) as the Record is) entred a new Confederacy with the Dukes of *Burgundy* and *Britain*: (*f*) And in the end wrought from them a round Pension of money, though he could not any portion of land.

Henry the seventh (*g*) *anno* 5. *&* 6. entertaineth an Alliance with *Spain* against the *French* King. The like in the eighth with the King of *Portugal*: and in the tenth (*h*) with the house of *Burgundy* for Intercourse and mutual Aid.

Henry the eighth in *anno* 4. (*i*) reneweth the Amity of *Portugal*; and the next year combineth with the Emperour *Maximilian* against *Lewis* the *French* King, who aideth him out of *Artoys* and *Henault* with four thousand horse and six thousand foot; whereupon he winneth *Tournay*, (*k*) *Consilio, Auxilio, & favoribus Maximiliani Imperatoris*, with the advice, assistance, and countenance of the Emperour *Maximilian*. In *anno* 7. (*l*) to weaken the *French* King, he entreth league with the *Helvetian Cantons* by his Commissioners *Wingfield* and *Pace*; and with (*m*) *Charles* of *Spain* for Amity and mutual Aid: into which *Maximilian* the Emperour and *Joan* of *Spain* (*n*) were received the year following.

(*a*) *Parl. an.* 7 *E.* 4. *n.* 28.
(*b*) *Rot. Franc. an.* 8. *m.* 22. *& ex contra. i. originali.*
(*c*) *Rot. Franc. an.* 11 *E.* 4. *m.* 7
(*d*) *Rot. Franc. an.* 12. *m.* 22. *& ex orig. in Thes. westm.*
(*e*) *Rot. Fran. an.* 14. *m.* 18. *& 19.*
(*f*) *Ex Contr. de an.* 1487. *pro solutione* 50000 *scutorum ad* 100. *annos.*
Henry 7.
(*g*) *Rot. Fran. an.* 5. *& 6 H.* 7. *& Contr. orbis an.* 8 H. 7.
Henry 8.
(*h*) *Ex magno intercursu de an.* 1495.
(*i*) *Ex tract. origin. de dat.* 1513.
(*k*) *Ex, litera Max. Imp. Caro Ebor. dat.* 15.
(*l*) *Rot. Fran. anno* 7 H. 8.
(*m*) *Ex tract. Bruxellens.* 1515.
(*n*) *Ex orig. subscript. card. Sedunensi de dat.* 1516.

(a) *Ex tract. Calliſ. an.* 1521

(b) *Ex tract. orig. ſubſcript. manu Card. Ebor. & Marg. Regent.* 24. *Auguſt.* 1521.

(a) In *an.* 12. with the Emperour *Charles* and (b) *Margaret* Regenteſs of *Burgundy* he maketh a Confederation againſt *Francis* the *French* King, as the common enemy: *& quia Rex Angliæ non poſſit ex propriis Subditis tantum equitum numerum congerere*, the King of *England* could not furniſh ſuch a quantity of Horſe of his own Subjects, as was mentioned in the contract, the Emperour giveth leave that he levy them in any his Dominions in *Germany*. And the Pope in furtherance of his intendment, interdicteth the *French* Territories, calleth in aid *Brachii Seculares*, of the Secular power, (c) thoſe two Princes; appointeth the *Emperour Protectorem & advocatum Eccleſiæ*, the Churches Advocate and Protector; and ſtileth their Attempt *ſancta expeditio*, an holy expedition. (d) And this is by the Treaty at *Windſor* the next year confirmed and explained. Renewing in the years (e) twenty one, thirty five and thirty eight the aſſociation, and bond of mutual aid with the ſame Princes, and againſt the *French* King, if he brake not off his Amity with the *Turk*.

(c) *Ex tract. Winſor.* 1522.

(d) *Ex tract. Cambrenſ.* 1529.

(e) *Ex tract. Altrajectenſe.*

And although (f) *Edward* the ſixth in the firſt year of his Reign made the Contract between the Crown of *England* and the houſe of *Burgundy* perpetual; yet (g) forbore he to aid the Emperour in the wars of *France*, diſabled (as he pretended) by reaſon of the Poverty the troubles of *Scotland* had drawn upon him; (h) And therefore offered the Town of *Bullen* to the Imperial Protection.

(f) *Ex tract. de anno* 1543. *Ex originali dat. ultimo Janu.* 1547.

(g) *Ex inſtruct. Richo Moriſon. Edward* 6.

(h) *Ex littra Ducis Somerſ. Magiſt. pag.* 1549.

During the Reign of Queen *Mary*, there was no other but that (i) of Marriage, Aid and Entercourſe with the *Emperour*, *Spain* and *Burgundy*;

(i) *Ex contr. Matrimoniali* 1554.

gundy; (*a*) and beſides that tripartite bond at *Cambray* of Amity and Neutrality.

Our late Renowned Miſtris entertained with the Prince of *Conde* (*b*) about *New-haven*, and (*c*) with *Charles* the ninth 1564. and at (*d*) *Bloys* 1572. with the King of *Navarre* before the acceſſion of the Crown of *France* to him, and after *Britain*, and laſtly by the Duke of *Bullen* (*e*) in ninety ſix. And with the States of the *Netherlands* in the years eighty five (*f*) and ninety eight, divers Treaties of Amity, Confederation and Aſſiſtance.

(*a*) *Extract. Matr.* 1555. Queen Mary.
(*b*) *Ex artic. ſubſcript. à Vlddme de Chartres* 1562 Elizabeth.
(*c*) *Ex fœder. Trecenſi.* 1564.
(*d*) *Ex tract. Pleſſenſi.*
(*e*) *Ex tract. Londini.* 1596.
(*f*) *Ex tract. cum ordin. Belgiæ de an.* 1585. & 1598

By all theſe paſſages, (being all that well either our Story or *Records* can diſcover) it appeareth manifeſt the Kings of *England* never to have undertaken, or fortunately entertained any Forreign Enterpize without a party and confederate. Amongſt which by ſituation, thoſe of beſt advantage to us have been the Dukes of *Britain*, Lords of the *Netherlands*, the City of *Genoa*, the Kings of *Portugal* and *Spain*, and the Empire, ſince knit into the houſe of *Burgundy*.

Confederates of moſt benefit to *England*.

As for the remote and in-land Princes of *Germany*, the Kings of *Denmark*, *Poland* and *Sweden*, (ſo far removed) I have ſeldome obſerved that this *Crown* hath with them contracted any League of Aſſiſtance or Confederacy, but of Amity and Entercourſe only.

Princes whoſe Confederation are of leaſt benefit.

Bonds of Confederation cannot be the ſame they were before.

As with the State of *Genoa*.

IT remaineth to obſerve a little, what were the reaſons that firſt induced, and then preſerved the Affection and Alliances of theſe ſeveral Nations reſpectively to this Crown. The aſſurance we had of the State of *Genoa* was their Penſions and Traffick here. All which time by equality of Neighbourhood they ſtood of themſelves without any jealouſie of Surprize. But as ſoon as *Vicinum Incendium*, the fire began in *Millain*, they put themſelves into the protection of *Spain*, foreſeeing how dangerous it would be for a weak State to ſtand *Neutral*, according to *Ariſthenus* counſel to the *Ætolians*, (a) *Quid aliud quam nuſquam gratia ſtabili præda victoris erimus?* What elſe will become of us, being in firm friendſhip with neither ſide, than to be made a prey to the Conquerour? Since which time *Spain* by eſtating *Doria*, *Grimaldi*, and the *Spinellos*, chief Families of that City, with great Patrimonies in *Naples*, retaining their Gallies in his perpetual ſervice and ſalary, the Inhabitants of all ſorts in beneficial Trade, and (no leſs in Policy to ingage that City, than to ſupply his own Wants) continually owing the wealthieſt Citizens ſuch vaſt ſumms of money, as the Intereſt of late exceeded (b) twenty five Millions; he hath tyed it more ſure to the *Spaniſh* party, than if it were commanded by a *Citradel*; ſo that it muſt ever now follow the faction and fortune of that Crown.

(a) *Liv. Dec. 4. l. 2.*

(b) *In Relatione di Statu Genuæ, an. 1595.*

Navarre. Britain.

Navarre and *Britain* (while States of themſelves) were ſo long firm to our Confederacy, as they were tyed with the bond of their own Calamity,

Calamity, occaſioned by that power, which incorporating lately the one by Deſcent, the other by Contract, is by that Union and return of all the *Appennagii*, more potent than ever it hath been under the Houſe of *Capet*.

Burgundy was ſo long our friend, as either they were enriched by Staple of our Commodities, or had protection of our Swords againſt *France*, who not only claimed Soveraignty over moſt, but a proprietary intereſt in part; and therefore had reaſon to give Aid and Arms to ſuch a Confederate as did by a diverſive War ſecure, and by particular Immunities inrich that State. But now growing into *Spain*, they need no ſuch aſſurance in the one; and we almoſt undone by their draping of our Wooll, (which is happily called home,) not able to return them the benefit of the other, cannot preſume upon any ſuch aſſurance of their aid as heretofore. Burgundy.

Spain may ſeem to give us the beſt hope of a faſt Confederate for two reſpects. *Firſt*, for that he is abſolute, and that we be equally devoid of demand, neither having againſt the other any Titles. *Next*, for that the entercourſe of Trade is more reciprocal between us than *France*, and our Amity founded upon long love and old blood. To this may be made a two-fold anſwer, from the change of their Diſpoſitions: *Firſt*, for that they never aſſiſt any now, but to make themſelves Maſter of their State. Thus ended they the ſtrife between the Competitors of *Portugal*. And when they were called into *Naples* by the *Queen* againſt the *French*, they combined with her Adverſary, and divided the Kingdom. Spain.

Kingdom. And after upon the River of *Garillon*, under their Leader *Gonsalves*, taking an advantage, they defeated the whole Army of the *French*, holding ever since that entire Kingdom themselves. For *Spain* will admit neither Equality nor Fellowship, since upon Union of so many Kingdoms, and famous Discoveries, they begun to affect a fifth *Monarchy*. *The other*; that the late *hostility* between them and us hath drawn so much blood, as all forms of antient Amity are quite wash away: and as (a) *Paterculus*. *Paterculus* (*a*) saith of *Carthage* to *Rome*, so may we of *Spain* to *England*, *Adeo odium Certaminibus virtum ultra metam durat, ut ne in victis quidem deponitur, neque ante invisum esse desinet quam esse desit*: The hatred begot by former quarrels doth endure so lastingly, that the very conquered party cannot forget it: and in such a case the very places must cease to be, before the hatred and envy towards it can cease.

Dangers in Confederacy by diversity of Ends. Examples, that ends served, Confederates quit all bonds of Combination.

BEsides these local considerations, there will two other Dangers now fall out from any Contract of mutual aid: The one from diversity of *Intention*, and the other of *Religion*. In the one, when either the Confederate hath safely attained his own secret End, (whatsoever he pretendeth in the entrance,) he leaveth the other to work out his own designs. Thus was *Henry* the third served, called over by the Earls of *Thoulouse* and *March*: they in the mean time having made their Peace with *France*: (*a*) *Et expertus jam insidem, imo perfidiam* Pictavensium, *turpiter recessit, & festinans non pepercit Calcaribus*,

(a) *Matth. Paris* 1242.

ribus, insomuch that having found the treachery and perfidiousnes of the *Poictovins*, he was forced dishonourably to retreat, and for haste to spurr away; the peril the poor King was left in being so great. He was handled like to this by *Pope Alexander* the fourth, who having drawn him into the wars of *Apulia* against *Manfred*, in the end, *depauperato Regno Anglia, & undique bonis suis spoliato*, his Kingdom of *England* being impoverished, and wholly despoiled of its Goods, left him to his own shift. The King of *Navarr* calling in the aide of *Edward* the third (a) against *France*, and appointing the Isle of *Gersey* the *Rendezvous* of their forces, revolteth to the *French*, after he had by countenance of that preparation wrought his Peace. *Maximilian* the *Emperour* to induce *Henry* the eighth not only contracteth to aide him in person to recover the Crown of *France*, *& pro tyrannido Rege repellendo*, and to remove the tyrannical King, (they are the words of the League;) but conferreth upon him in the same *Coronam Imperialem & Imperium Romanum*, the Imperial Crown and the *Roman* Empire in reversion; and exalteth the *Duchy* of *Millain* after recovery upon his person, *& suorum naturalium masculini sexus haeredum, modo feodorum Imperialium*, and his heirs male lawfully begotten, to hold in Fee of the Empire: yet in the close left the King to his own fortune, his turn for *Millain* and *Verona* served. *Charles* the fifth when by the incursion of the *French* he saw his portion in *Italy* distressed, in safety whereof consisted the whole *Pulse* of the *Spanish*, (as he used himself to say,) for it supplied his Army with great Le-

(a) *Rot. Parl. anno* 29 *E.* 3. *n.* 6.

vies,

vies, and was fitly seated for a fifth *Monarchy*; he then ingaged *Henry* the eighth in the wars of *France*, and bound himself (as *Bourbon* his Confederate) that he would assist him to the full Conquest of that Kingdom, and the other should become *Homager* to *Henry* the eighth as to his Soveraign. But after that *Bourbon* had advanced his Army and distressed the *French* King, he in his answer to *Master Pace* the Kings Ambassadour refused that assurance of duty, and gave a just suspicion, that he by help of his Party intended to usurp upon that State himself, which the *Emperour* never meant to the King of *England*; left by such footing in *France*, he might grow so great as to give Law to his neighbours. And to fall off upon such grounds hath ever been excusable, howsoever the bonds of Alliance were. Thus did *Henry* the eighth as often change his hand of help, as either Princes of *Spain* and *France* got ground of the other. And the *Spaniard* now, to keep the States in *Italy* disunited, compoundeth differences at his pleasure, or taketh part with the weaker, not suffering any, though his own dependant, to grow too strong: which was lately seen in patronizing the *D.* of *Mantua* against *Savoy*, according to the Rule of *Quinctius* in *Livy*, *Non tantum interest Ætolorum opes minui*, it doth not stand us so much in hand to break the strength of the *Ætolians*, (yet they were enemies,) *quantum, non supra modum Philippum crescere*, as it doth to see that *Philip* grow not too potent, who was their friend.

Suspecting that an Allie may grow too great, dissolveth alliance.

Liv. lib. 34.

The difference in *Religion* may bring likewise a twofold danger. The one with our Confederates, the other with the Subjects of this Crown.

For

For whensoever we shall attempt upon a *Catholick Prince*, as *France*, where we have the fairest pretences, for with any other we are like to have no question; then is all Contract of mutual aide left to the election of our Confederate, who may with all easiness procure from the See of *Rome* a discharge of all Contracts, although they were by Oath. For if in Leagues where either party have been Catholicks, as that between *Edward* 3. and *John* King of *France*, and that between *John* of *Gaunt* and the King of *Castile*; they ever out of such suspect inserted this Clause, That neither side should procure *dispensationem*, &c. either *per Ecclesiam Romanam, vel per aliquam aliquam*, a Dispensation either by the Church of *Rome*, or any other way, to do *contra formam Tractatus*, contrary to the form of Agreement: How much more must their *jealousie* be to us? And therefore in a Consultation in *Henry* the eighths time, (a) whether with best security we should Confederate with *France* or *Spain*, it was resolved that either of them may slip of their advantage by colour of our Separation from the

Danger by difference in Religion, in respect of the Confederates, who may break by dispensation, though both Catholicks.

(a) *Ex original. in manu Domini Cromwell.*

Danger by difference in Religion, in respect of the Confederates, who ought to break out of the Roman doctrine, one accounted heretick.

Doctrine of the See of *Rome* touching leagues with Hereticks.

the Church of *Rome*, if there be no better hold in their Honesties than in their Bonds. For it will be held not only worthy dispensation, but merit to break all Leagues with the enemies of that Church, by the Doctrine of that See; which teacheth all Contracts with any *Catholick* Prince to be *instanti* dissolved, because we are by them ranked in the list of *Hereticks*; which holds proportion with the Rule and Direction that *Urban* the sixth sent by (a) *Bull* to *Wenceslaus* King of *Bohemia*, and *Charles* the *Emperour*, (before the Council of *Constance*,) declaring all Confederations, Leagues and Conventions to be *Lege Divina temeraria, illicita, & ipso jure nulla, etiamsi forent fide data firmata, aut Confirmatione Apostolica roborata*, to be by the Law of God invalid, void, and in Law null, although confirmed by the plighting of faith, nay though strengthned by confirmation Apostolical, if the parties were *separati ab Unitate sanctæ Ecclesiæ*, separate from the Unity of Holy Church, when

(a) *Ex Bulla origin. sub sigillo urbani 6. an. pont. 4.*

Danger by difference in Religion, in respect of the Confederates, who ought to break out of the Roman doctrine one accounted heretick.

when the league was made; or, *si postea sint effecti*, if they become so after. What assurance can there then be either with *France*, who is received, by his *Rebenediction*, into the Bosome of the *Church*, and his son made *Adoptivus Filius Ecclesiæ*, an adopted Son of the Church; or against him with *Spain*, who being *Protector* and *Champion* of that See *Apostolick*, submitteth himself (as he hath ever done) to the Popes pleasure and design, and must not only forsake, but aide against us in any war we should there undertake?

Subjects obedient to the Popes Censure a dangerous Party.

Besides it is considerable, howsoever all sides of our own will joyn in point of defence to a mutual aide; whether they will so in a forraign Invasion; (especially when the party assailed shall be of their own Religion.) For when Subjects the Interdiction of the Pope could draw against *John* King of *England* and (*a*) *Lewis* the twelfth a side of their own Subjects, (as it did after in the same Kingdom against *Henry* the third, though all three conformable in points of Religion to that See;) how much more will it work

(a) *Ex Eutropio Hist.*

Danger by difference in Religion, in respect of the Subjects

work with the people devoted to their opinions in a State divided from their obedience? For amongst us the *Catholick Church* hath many *Jesuits* to raise Faction, and divert people from duty; the *Recusants* many, and *Malecontents* not few; all which with war will discover themselves, but now by this happy calm unassured of assistance, lock up their riches in security, and their hearts in silence. And therefore by any enterprize, it is not with the rule of *Seneca* safe, *concutere felicem statum*. For by provoking of some adversary in respect of Papal protection, they pick advantage to ground a quarrel of Religion: and then the *sancta expeditio*, the holy expedition against *Lewis*, will be made *Bellum Sacrum*, a holy War against us.

But admitting no less than in former times an easiness to attempt; it is not a meditation unnecessary to think in general of the dangers and impossibilities to *retain*. For first we must more than transgress *Limites quos posuerunt Patres*, the Bounds which our Fathers owned; and relinquish that defence of Nature, wherewith she hath incircled, divided, and secured us from the whole world;

(a) *(Te natura potens Pelago diviſit ab omni*
Parte orbis, tutaut ſemper ab hoſte fores.

From all the Earth Nature hath parted thee
With Seas, and ſet thee ſafe from Enemy.)

(a) *Feſtus Avienus.*

and commit our Frontiers (had we never ſo much upon the next Continent) to the protection of an Army, which beſides the continual Charge, if we give Ambitious and able Commanders, (as unable, for our Intereſt we will not,) how ready ſhall it be in ſuch a Leader, and ſo backt, if he pleaſe, to give Law to his own Countrey? For Trifles will be quarrels good enough for ſuch as can make them good by Power; And whenſoever means and Ambition leads any to trouble the State, he will be ſure to colour his pretext with honeſt Titles. (b) *Alii, ſicuti Jura populi defenderent*; *Pars, quo Senatus authoritas maxima foret, bonum publicum ſimulantes*: ſome declaring to maintain the rights of the People, others to uphold the authority of the Senate, all pretending to act for the publick good. Hence was it that *Auguſtus* (c) refuſed to add any more of the Barbarous Nations to the body of his Empire, which with great facility he might have done; (d) and to reſtrain that infinite and unſafe deſire of enlarging, left in Charge to his Succeſſors that eſpecial point of advice, (e) *coercendi intra Terminos Imperii*, to keep the Empire within due and fitting bounds. The like moderation from the ſame ground was in the late *Queen*, who refuſed the ſoveraignty of the *Netherlands*, (f) ſo often and earneſtly offered to her, fore-ſeeing well, that as her

Danger of large Frontiers.

(b) *Saluſt. in Bello Catil.*

(c) *Suetonius in vita Auguſti.*

(d) *Dion Caſſius.*

(e) *Tacitus.*

(f) *Ex propoſit. Statuum de anno 1585.*

her State should grow more respective by addition of People, and augmentation of Territory; so Factions and Discontents (a common accident in worldly affairs) would arise from superfluity. The State that may best admit increase is that, unto which addition may be on every part indifferently. Such was the advantage of *Rome*, by being situate in the midst of *Europe*: whereas we are thrust out of the world; to which we have no other contiguity, than an unsure element of fluxible foundation, the Sea, subject to tempest, contrariety of wind, and more commodious for a potent enemy to intercept, than our selves to secure. For how large soever any Kingdom is, all great directions move from one place, commonly from one man, as the Heart in the Body. It is therefore necessary that the seat be so placed, that as well Intelligence as Dispatch may safely pass with indifferency and assured Speed: And those Forms are most quick and easie in motion, whose extreams are all equally distant from the Centre; for the more different from the Circle, the more slow and hard. *Rome* may sufficiently example this: For so long as the *Orbe* of that Empire so moved about her, all things kept on their course with order, and ease; but after the Seat was by (a) *Constantine* removed to an extremity of the Circle, it stood a while still, and in the end dissolved. For either through the mass of Business, the limitedness of any mans sufficiency, or impossibility to consider all due Circumstances but in *re praesenti*, there must fall out infinite defects in the directions. Or if none, either by reason of Distance they come too late, or if not, by reason of remisness, he who is to execute will be bolder with his Instructions than

What State may best admit addition.

(a) *Zosimus in vita Constantini.*

than is fit for a Minister to be. How dangerous is it then by addition of Territories for our Master, (a) *Alterum pene Imperio nostro & suo Veluti quarenti Orbem*, whilst he is seeking to joyn another world, in a manner to his and our Empire, to alter either the setled order of directions, or walls of our security? Besides, as in the Frames of Nature *Animantationalis*, the rational soul cannot *informare*, give life, sense, or discourse to the matter of an *Elephant* or a *Fly*, (or any other body disproportionable to a form so qualified) so is there as well a bound of amplitude and strictness wherein the soul of Government is comprised; (b) Between which extreams there are many degrees of Latitude, some approaching to the greatest (that nature seldome or never produceth) some to the least, and some to the mean; beyond which proportions respectively though some may have a will to affect, they never can have a power to attain. And this we may see in the former accession of so much to us in *France*; which we could never either with Profit or Assurance retain, being gotten by Conquest, and but tacked to by Garrison, contrary to the nature of Hereditary *Monarchies*. For some Kingdoms (in which number this may be accounted) are of the same condition that *Demosthenes* (c) maketh the *Athenians*: *Non ea vestra ingenia sunt, ut ipsi aliis vi oppressis Imperia teneatis; sed in eo magna sunt vires vestræ, ut alium potiri principatu prohibeatis, aut potitum exturbetis*; It is not your way, violently to oppress other States and seize the Government; but in this is your strength manifest, that you can hinder another from possessing the Government, or when he is possessed of it,

(a) *Veluti quarenti Orbem. Paterc. de Expeditione Cæsaris.*

(b) *Bodin. de Repub. lib. 6.*

(c) *Ex orat. Demosth. ad Athenienses.*

throw him out again. Since then by *Situation* and Power we are the fittest, either to combine or keep several the most potent and warlike Nations of the *West*, it is the best for *Safety*, and the most for *Honour*, to remain as we were, *Arbiters* of *Europe*, and so by *Neutrality* sway still the Ballance of our mightiest Neighbours: which by holding of our hands, and only looking on, we shall easily do, since *Spain* and *France* hang so indifferently, that a little weight will cast the Beam; imploying ours, as *Claudius* did his Forces in (a) *Germany*, *ut subsidio victis, Victoribus terrori essent, ne forte tiati Pacem turbarent*, to assist the Conquered party, and to over-awe the Victor, lest he should be puffed up with pride, and disturb our peace. Thus did *Henry* the eighth with the *French* and *Spanish* Princes, using as his *Motto* of Honour and Power this, *Cui adhaereo praest*, He rules whom I stick to. And the late *Queen* studied rather how to guard her Allies, than to inlarge her Dominions, multiplying her Leagues more by giving than receiving gratuities: winking at her own wrongs, rather than willing to revenge. And (as the great Mistris of the world once) did what rather became her Greatness, than what severity of Armes required. Hence were her Seas for the most part freed from Pirates, and her Land here cleared of Enemies. For according to *Micipsae's* counsel to *Jugurth*, *Non exercitus, neque Thesauri praesidia Regni sunt*; Neither Armies nor Treasure are the safety of a Kingdom: but such Allies as neither Armes constrain, nor moneys purchase, *sed officio & fide pariuntur*. And since by fortune of the times succeeding, this State hath grown more upon Opinion than Deed, and that

Safety in Neutrality.

(a) *Tacitus & Dion Cassius.*

we

we know *Magis fama quam vi ſtare res noſtras*; that our affairs ſtand rather by Fame than Force; it is moſt ſafe, neither to diſcover weakneſs, nor hazzard loſs by any attempt. Beſides, ſtanding as we do no wayes obnoxious by *Site* to any of our Neighbours, they will alwayes be ready to refert the judgement and order of their differences to us. As the (*a*) *Brabanters* and *Henowayes* did to the Arbitrement of *Edward* the third: and (*b*) *Charles* the fifth and *Francis* the *French* King the deciſion of their quarrel to *Henry* the eighth. Thus every part ſhall woue us, all Princes by their Orators ſhall reſort unto us, as to the Common *Conſiſtory* of judgement in their debates, and thereby add more to our Reputation than any power of our own. For as well in States as in Perſons, Suitors are an infallible token of Greatneſs; which *Demoſthenes* (*c*) told the *Athenians* they had loſt, ſince none reſorted to their *Curia* or *Prætorium*. By this way ſhall we gain the Seat of *Honour*, *Riches*, and *Safety*; and in all other but endleſs *Expence*, *Trouble* and *Danger*.

Honour attained by Neutrality, in being the Arbiter of all differences between the mightieſt Neighbours.

(a) *Froiſard.*

(b) *Ex Regiſtris & libris Tractatuum.*

(c) *Ex Demoſth. 4 Philip.*

Robert Cotton Bruceus.

FINIS.

A

SHORT VIEW

OF THE

LONG REIGN

OF KING

Henry III.

WEaried with the lingring calamities of Civil Arms, and affrighted at the ſudden fall of a licentious Sovereign, all men ſtood at gaze, expecting the event of their long deſires (Peace) and iſſue of their new hopes (Benefit.) For in every thift of Princes there are few, either ſo mean, or modeſt, that pleaſe not themſelves

Hiſt. Minor. Matth. Paris. with ſome probable object of preferment. To ſatisfie all, a Child aſcendeth the Throne, mild and gracious, but eaſie of nature, whoſe Innocency and natural goodneſs led him ſafe along the various dangers of his Fathers Reign: Happy was he in his Unkle the Earl of *Pembroke*, the Guide of his Infancy, and no leſs than for thirty years after, whilſt *De Burgo*, that faſt ſervant of his Fathers againſt the *French*, both in *Normandy* and *England*, with *Bygod* Earl of *Norfolk*, and others of like gravity and experience did mannage the affairs. Few and no other were the diſtempers then in State, but ſuch as *Matth. Paris. Hiſt. Major.* are incident to all, the Commons greedy of liberty, and the Nobility of Rule, and but one violent ſtorm raiſed by ſome old and conſtant followers of his Father, *Fulco de Brent*, *de Fortibus*, and others, men that could only thrive by the Wars, miſſliking thoſe dayes of ſloth (for ſo they termed that calm of King *Henries* Government;) and the rather becauſe the Juſtice of quiet times urged from them to the lawful owners, ſuch Lands and Caſtles, as the fury of War had unjuſtly given them; for finding in the uprightneſs of the King, that power of protection ſhould not be made a wrong doer, they fell out into that *Hiſt. S. Albani.* rebellion, that with it ended their lives and competitions; profeſſing that thoſe their ſwords that had ſet the Crown upon their Sovereigns head, when neither Majeſty nor Law could, ſhould now ſecure theſe ſmall pittances to their Maſters, when Majeſty or Law would not: Dangerous are the too great benefits of Subjects to their Princes, when it maketh the mind only capable of merit, nothing of duty. No other diſquiet did the State

State after this feel, but such as is incident in all, the malice to Authority; Good and great men may secure themselves from guilt, but not from envy: for the greatest in trust of publick affairs are still shot at by the aspiring of those that deem themselves less in imployment, than they are in merit. These vapours did ever and easily vanish so long as the helm was guided by temperate Spirits, and the King tyed his Actions to the Rule of good Counsel, and not to young, passionate, or single advice.

Thirty years now passed, and all the old guides of his youth now dead, but *De Burgo*, (a man in whom nothing of worth was wanting but moderation,) whose length of dayes giving him the advantage of sole power, his own ambition and age gave him desire, and art, to keep out others, which wrought him into the fatal envy of most, and that increased in the Title of Earl, and great Offices the King then gave him. *Time* by this, had wrought, as in it self, so in the hearts of the people, a Revolution, the afflictions of their Fathers forgotten, and the surfeit of long peace perchance having let in some abuses; from hence, the Commons, to whom dayes present seem ever worst, commend the fore-gone ages they never remembred, and condemn the present, though they knew neither the disease thereof, nor the remedy. *Chron. de Dunest. Joan. de Wallingford.*

To these idle and usual humours, fell in some of the young and noble Spirits, warm and over-weaning (who being as truly ignorant as the rest) first by sullying the wisdom of the present, and greatest Rulers, (making each casual mishap their errors:) seem to decipher every *Chron. de Litchfield.*

blemish

blemish in Government, and then by holding certain imaginary and fantastick forms of Common-wealths, flatter their own belief and ability, that they can mold any State to these general rules, which in particular application will prove idle and gross absurdities.

Gual. de Coven. Next confirmed in their worth by *Sommery* and *Spencer*, they take it a fit time to work themselves into action, and authority, a thing they had long desired, and now, (though unwilling to seem so) do sue for, and doubtless, the furthest of their aim was yet, to become quiet instruments in serving the State, if they had been then held fit and worthy.

But the King taught by the new Earl, That *Consilia senum hastas juvenum esse*, and that such wits, (for so they would be stiled) were *Novandis quam gerendis rebus aptiores*; fitter in being factious to disorder, than to settle affairs, either denyed or delayed their desires; for wise Princes will ever choose their Instruments *Par negotiis*, and not *supra*, Creatures out of meer election, that are only theirs, otherwise, without friends or power.

Matth. Paris. Hist. Minor. Amongst this unequal medly, there were of the Nobility, *Richard* Earl of *Pembroke*, *Gloucester*, and *Hartford*, darlings of the multitude; some for the merit of their Fathers, whose memories they held sacred, as Pillars of publick liberty, and opposers of encroaching Monarchy: at *Runemede* the Armies met. And of the Gentry, *Fitz-Geoffry*, *Bardolph*, *Grisley*, *Maunsel* and *Fitz-John*, Spirits of as much Acrimony and Arrogant spleen, as the places from whence they were elected, Camp, Court, or Countrey, could

Chron. Petri Peckaviem.

afford

afford any: These by force would effect what the other did affect by cunning; but all impatient, to see their ends thus frustrate, and that so long as the King followed the direction of the Earl of *Kent*, they had small hope of their desires, they made often meetings; and as one saith of them, *Clam & nocturnis colloquiis aut flexo in vesperum die.* Matth. Paris.

In the end, *Sammery* and *Spencer*, two that were fair in opinion with the rest, Gentlemen, by Forreign education and imployment, more qualified than usually men of these times; and that set upon their own deserts, the best places when the Stream should turn, (which one of them, *Spencer*, did unworthily obtain, for he dyed in actual Rebellion, *Justiciarius Angliæ*, against his Master) advised that the best means to remove that great and good obstacle, the Earl of *Kent*, out of the way of their advancement, was by sifting into his actions, and siding with his opposite, *Peter* Bishop of *Winchester*, (an ill man, but gracious with the King) making still their ends, that the worthiest being driven out by the worst, they shall either be able to mate him with his own vices, which will be ever more visible, as he is more potent, and so remove him at pleasure; or else give over the King to such Ministers leisure, as losing him the hearts of his people, might smooth them a way to their bad desires, *Honores quos quieta Republica desperant, perturbata consequi se posse arbitrantur.* Thus, Counsel heard, approved and put in practice, the corrupt, and ambitious Bishop is easily insnared to their part, for money, and opinion of increase of power. Cicero in Catal. sive Orat. prima.

Articles are in all haſte forged, and urged againſt the Earle, as ſale of Crown land; waſte of the Kings Treaſure; and laſtly, (that which theſe doubtful times held capital) his giving allowance to any thing that might breed a rupture between the Sovereign and the Subjects, as he had done in making way with the King, to annihilate all Patents granted in his non-age, and enforced the Subject to pay as the Record ſaith, *Non juxtâ ſingulorum facultatem, ſed quicquid Juſtitiarius æſtimabat.*

Lib. Bermonſey vita Abbatiſ. Albani.

Well! he cleared himſelf of all, but the laſt, and did worthily periſh by it; for acts that fill Princes Coffers, are ever the ruines of their firſt Inventers; bad times corrupt good Counſels, and make the beſt Miniſters yield to the luſt of Princes, therefore this King cannot paſs blameleſs, that would ſo eaſily blemiſh all former merits, of ſo good a ſervant, for that wherein himſelf was chief in fault.

But Princes natures are more variable, and ſooner cloid than others, more tranſitory their favours, and as their minds are large, ſo they eaſily over-look their firſt election, tying their affections no further than their own ſatisfactions.

The Biſhop now alone manageth the State; chooſeth his chief inſtrument, *Peter de Rivallis*, a man like himſelf; diſplaceth the natives, and draweth *Poictions* and *Brittons* into Offices of beſt truſt, and benefit; and the King into an evil opinion of his people. For nothing is more againſt the nature of the *Engliſh*, than to have Strangers rule over them: of this mans time, *Wendover*, an Author then living ſaith, *Judicia commu-*

committuntur injustis, Leges exlegibus, Pax discordantibus, justitia injuriosis. Thus the plot of the tumultuous Barons went clear, and had not the discreeter Bishop calmed all by dutiful perswasions, and informing the King that the support of this bold mans power (whose carriage before had lost his Father *Normandy*, the love of his people, and in that his Treasure, his Crown) would by teaching the Son to reject in passion the just petitions of his loyal Subjects, (as of late the Earl of *Pembrooke* his Earl Marshal of *England* the due of his Office) drive all the State into discontent by his bad advice, and corrupt manners; doubtless the rebellious Lords had ended this distemper, as their design was, in a civil War. *Regis Rossen. Annalis de Ely.*

Denials from Princes must be supplied with gracious usage, that though they cure not the sore, yet they may abate the sence of it; but best it is, that all favours come directly from themselves; denials and things of bitterness from their Ministers.

Thus are the Strangers all displaced and banished, *Rivallis* extortions ransackt, by many strict Commissions of enquiry; the Bishop sent away disgraced, finds now that *Nulla diuturna scelere potentia.* and that in Princes favours there is no subsistence between the highest of all, and precipitation. Dangerous are the waies of Majesty, and men still foolish to run to ruine. The Lords still frustrate of their malicious ends, began to sow upon these late grounds of the peoples discontent, *Querelas & ambiguos de Principe sermones & alia quæque turbamenta vulgi*, and took it up a fashion to endear and glorifie themselves with the senceless multitude, by depraving the *Clauſ. anno 37 H. 3. M. 26. Chron. Holl.*

Kings

Kings discretion, and Government, whose nature too gentle for such insolent Spirits, was forced (as *Trevet* saith) to seek as he presently did, advice and love amongst strangers, seeing no desert could purchase it at home; all bore themselves like Tutors and Controllers, few like Subjects and Councellours. God we see holdeth the hearts of Princes, and sendeth them such Councellours as the quality of the Subject meriteth.

Chron. Litchf. For *Mountfort* a *Frenchman* became the next Object of the Kings delight, a Gentleman of choice blood, education, and stature, on this mans content, the heady affection of the Soveraign did so much dote, that at his first entrance of Grace, in envy of the Nobility, he made him Earl of *Leycester*, and in no less offence of the Clergy, by violating the rites of the holy Church, gave him his vowed, nailed sister in wife. More of Art than usually some have deemed this act of the Kings, making the eye of his dependency, the strength of his assurance, so both at his will.

Mat. Paris, Roger Wendover.

Chron. Ioan. Taleravc. *Mountford* made wanton thus with dalliance of his Master, forgetteth moderation, for seldome discretion in youth attendeth great and sudden fortunes, he draweth all publick affairs into his own hands, all favours must pass from him, all preferments by him, all suits addressed to him, the King but as a cipher set to add to this figure, the more of number. Great is the Soveraigns errour, when the hope of Subjects must recognize it self beholden to the servant, which ought immediately to be acknowledged, from the goodness and good election of himself. Though Princes may take above others some reposeful friend, with whom they may participate their nearest passions; yet

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ought they so to temper the affairs of their favour, that they corrupt not the effects of their principalities.

At this the great and gravest men began to grieve, knowing the unworthy without honour, or merit, thus to deal alone in that which should pass through their hands, and to leap over all their heads, to the greatest Honour and Offices, and therefore run along with the then rising grace of the Kings half brethren, (though strangers) hoping thereby to divide that power, which otherwise they saw impossible to break.

Leycester confident of his Masters love, and impatient to bear either rival in favour, or partner in rule, opposeth them all, but findeth in his ebb of favour, the Fortune of others, and that this King could ever as easily transfer his fancy, as he had settled his affection. Great we see must be the art and cunning of that man, that keeps himself a float in the stream of Soveraigns favour, since the change of Princes wills, which for the most part are full of fancy and soon satiate, are hardly arrested: Who so would effect this, must only attend the honour and service of his Master, and despoiled of all other respects, transform himself into his inward inclination, and work into necessity of imployment, by undergoing the Offices of most secrecy, either of publick service, or Princes pleasures; he must also beat down Competitors of worth by the hands of others, conceal his own greatness in publick with a fained humility, and what in potency or Government he affecteth, let it rather seem the work of others, out of conveniency, than any appetite of his own.

Chron. Reading.

Thus

H. Knighton. Mob. Leyceſt. Thus were the reins of rule, fitly taken by this advantage, by theſe rebellious Lords, put alone into the hands of the Kings half brethren: *Adam*, *Guido*, *Godfray*, and *William*; himſelf as before, *Ex magna Fortuna licentiam tantum uſurpans*: For to act his own part, he was ever wier-drawn when he had ſuch worthy ſervants as would often for his Honour urge it. For theſe Maſters, (as *Wallingford* termeth them) *Tanta elatæ jactantia quod nec ſuperiorem ſibi intelligunt, nec parem, mellitis & molitis adulationibus animum Regis pro libito voluntatis à rationis tramite declinantes*; do alone what they liſt. They fill up the place of Juſtice and Truſt, with their Country-men, ſtrangers put out the *Engliſh*, exact of whom, how, and what they pleaſe, waſte the Treaſure and Crown Lands on themſelves, and their followers; ſet prices on all offences, and reine the Law within the rule of their own Breaſts. The uſual reply of their ſervants, to the plaints of the Kings Subjects, being *Quis tibi rectum faciet? Dominus rex vult*; *quod Dominus meus vult*; theſe Strangers ſeemed in their Lawleſs carriage not to have been invited, but to have entred the ſtate by Conqueſt. The great men they enforced not to obey, but to ſerve, and the mean to live ſo as they might juſtly ſay, they had nothing; yet leaſt the King ſhould hear the groans of his people, and the wickedneſs of his Miniſters, which good and able men would tell him, they bar all ſuch acceſs: Suſpicion being the beſt preſerver of their own defects, aimeth at thoſe, who have more of vertue than themſelves, as fearing them moſt. Thus is the incapacity of Government in a King, when it falls to be a prey to ſuch Lawleſs Minions, the ground of infinite

Joh. de Wallingford.

Wil. de Riſbanger.

Lib. Monaſtry Ramſey.

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corruption in all the members of the State; all take warrant generally from Princes weaknesses, of licentious liberty, and greatness makes profit particularly by it, and therefore give way to encrease it, to increase their gains.

A Famine accompanieth these corruptions, and that so violent, that the King is enforced to direct Writs to all the Shires, *Ad pauperes sepeliendos famis inedia deficientes*: Famine proceeds, *Fames præcessit & secutus est gladius tam terribilis ut nemo inermis secure possit Provincias peragrare.* For all the Villages of the Kingdom were left a prey to the lawless multitude: Who *Per diversas partes itinerantes velut per Consensum aliorum*, (as the Record saith) did imply that the factious Lords suspected by the King, had given some heat to that commotion; Seditious Peers bringing ever fewel to such popular fires. *Claus. anno 42 Hen. 3.* *Chro. London.*

Neither was the Church without a busie part in this Tragick work; for *Walter* Bishop of *Worcester*, and *Robert* of *Lincoln*, to whom *Mountford* and his faction, *Pro cordialiter adhærebant*, were far ingaged. In such designs, Church-men are never wanting, and the distaste of the present Government, (as well in the Church as in the Common-wealth) will ever be a knot of strength for such unquiet Spirits, who as well frame to themselves some other form of Government, than the present in the Church, as in the temporal state, as that with which the giddy multitude winneth best opinion, and did at this time fitly suit the peoples humours, so much detesting the new Courts of the Clergy, their pomp, their greediness, and the Popes extortions. *Will. de Rishanger.*

A fair pretext was it to those factious Bishops, to use their bitter pens and speeches, so far against Religious Orders, Ceremonies, and State of the Church, that one of them incurred the sentence of Excommunication at *Rome*, and Treason at home; for he enjoyned the Earl of *Leycester*, *In remissione peccatorum ut causam illam* (meaning his Rebellions) *usque ad mortem assumeret, asserens pacem Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ nunquam sine gladio materiali posse firmari.* It was not the best Doctrine that this man could plant by liberty or war, when the first Church rose by fasting and prayer.

Matth. Paris.

Will. de Rishanger.

True Piety binds the Subject to desire a good Soveraign, but to bear with a bad one, and to take up the burthen of Princes with a bended knee, rather in time so to deserve abatement, than resist authority.

Church-men therefore ought not alwayes to lead us in the rule of Loyalty, but a knowledge of our own duties. In difficult points of Religion, where an humble ignorance is a safe and secure knowledge, we may rely upon them.

To suppress these troubles, and supply the Kings extremity, a Parliament was called, much to the liking of those Lords, who as little meant to relieve the King, as they did to quiet the State. Their end at that time, being only to open at home the poverty of their Master, to lessen his reputation abroad, and to breath out their own passions freely, whilst those times of liberty permit.

Barth. de Cotton.

Chron. Norwic.

Chron. Worc.

Here they began to tell him he had wronged the publick State, in taking to his private election the Justice, the Chancellor, & Treasurer, that should

Matth. Paris.

be

be only by the Common Council of the Realm, commending much the Bishop of *Chichester*, for denying delivery of the great Seal, but in Parliament where he received it. *Wendover.*

They blame him to have bestowed the best places of trust and benefit in his gift on Strangers, and to leave the *English* unrewarded, to have undone the trade of Merchants, by bringing in Maltoles, and heavy Customs, and so have hurt the Common liberty, by *non obstantes* in his Patents, to make good Monopolies for private favourites. *Wallingford. Paris. Will. de Rishanger.*

That he hath taken from his Subjects, *Quicquid habuerunt in esculentis & poculentis. Rusticorum enim equos, bigas, vina, villualia, ad libitum capit.* *Chro. S. Alban.*

That his Judges were sent in Circuits, under pretext of Justice, to fleece the people, *Causis fictitiis quoscunque poterant diripuerunt.*

And that Sir *Robert de Puuslawe* had wrung from the Borderers of his Forrest, (under pretence of encroachments or assarts,) great summs of money.

And therefore, they wonder, that he should now demand relief from his so pilled and polled Commons, who by their present extremities, *Et per auxilia prius data ita depauperantur, ut parum aut nihil habeant in bonis.* And therefore advised him, that since his needless expence, (*Postquam regni cœpit esse dilapidatio,*) was summed up by them to above 800000 *l.* it were fitting to pull from his favourites, who had gleaned the Treasure of his Kingdom, and shared the old Lands of the Crown, some one of them, whom the Lords there described to be *Miles literatus*, or *Clericus* *Gual. de Coventry.* *Will. de Rishanger.*

cus militaris, who had in ſhort ſpace from the
Chron. Litchf. inheritance of an acre, grown to the Poſſeſſion of
an Earldom; and *Manſel* another inferiour Clark
Hiſt. Minor. Will. de Riſhanger. Epiſt. Robert. Lincolne. that (beſides other promotions with the cure of
ſouls) roſe to diſpend in annual revenue four
thouſand marks, whereas more moderate Fees
would have become a pen-man, no better qualified
than with the ordinary fruits of a Writing-
School; yet if a moderate ſupply would ſuit
with the Kings occaſions, they were content to
perform ſo far relief in Obedience, as the deſert
of his carriage ſhould merit toward them: And ſo
Matth. Paris. as the Record ſaith, *Dies datus eſt in tres ſeptimanas ut interim Rex exceſſus ſuos corrigeret, & Magnates voluntati ejus obtemperarent.*

At which day upon new grant of the Great
Regis Roſſen. Charter, admittance to his Council of ſome per-
Johan. de Wallingford. ſons elected by the Commons, and promiſe to
rely upon his Natives, and not Strangers for ad-
vice hereafter; they ſpare him ſuch a pittance
as muſt tye him to their Devotion, for a new
ſupply.

Thus Parliaments that before were ever a me-
dicine to heal up any rupture in Princes fortunes,
are now grown worſe than the malady, ſith
from thence more malignant humours began to
reign in them, than well compoſed tempers.

Chron. de Litchf. The King by this, experienced of the intents
of his rebellious Lords, and finding that the want
of Treaſure was the way whereby they inthralled
his Majeſty, begins now to play the good husband,
cloſeth his hand of waſte, and reſolves himſelf
(too late) to ſtand alone. Such experience is per-
nicious to the private, and dangerous to the publick
good of a State, when it never learns to do, but

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by undoing, and never ſees order, but when diſorder ſhews it. Yet ſtill, alas, ſuch was his flexibility, when he came to be preſſed by his *French* Minions, that he could not hold his hand any longer, from their vaſt deſires, and endleſs waſte. So that an Author then living, ſaith, it became a by-word, *Our inheritance is converted to Aliens, and our houſes to Strangers.* Followers to a King exceſſive in gifts, are exceſſive in demands, and cut them not out by reaſon, but by example: Favours paſt are not accounted, we love no bounty but what is meerly future; the more that a Prince weakneth himſelf in giving, the poorer he is of friends. For ſuch prodigality in a Soveraign, ever ends in the rapine and ſpoil of his Subjects. *Will. de Rishanger.*

Yet before the King would again ſubmit himſelf, as he had the laſt Parliament, to ſo many braves and ſtrict inquiries of his diſloyal Subjects, he meaneth to paſs through all the ſhifts, that extremity of need, with greatneſs of mind could lay upon him. He beginneth firſt with ſale of Lands, and then of Jewels, pawneth *Gaſcoigne*, and after that, his Imperial Crown, and when he had neither credit to borrow, (having ſo often failed the truſt he had made,) nor Gage of his own, he then layeth to pawn the Jewels and Ornaments of St. *Edwards Shrine*; and in the end, not having means to defray the dyet of his Court, was enforced to break up houſe, (and as *Paris* ſaith) with his Queen and Children, *Cum Abbatibus & Prioribus ſatis humiliter Hoſpitia queſivit & prandia.* *Claus. anno* 46, & 47 *Hen.* 3. *Claus. anno* 37. *Hen.* 3.

This low ebb, which again the Kings improvidence had brought him to, gave great aſſu-

rance to the Rebellious Lords, that they ſhould now at the laſt, have the Soveraign power left a prey to their ambitious deſigns; and to bring it faſter on, they deſire nothing more, than to ſee the Kings extremity conſtrain a Parliament, for at ſuch times, Princes are ever leſs than they ſhould be, Subjects more.

Will. de Rishanger. To haſten on the time, and adapt the means, there are ſown certain ſeditious rumours, that the Kings neceſſity muſt repair it ſelf upon the fortunes and liberty of his people, that having nothing of his own left, he might and meant to take of others: For Kings may not want, as long as the Subjects have means to ſupply.

This took fire juſt to their minds, and wrought a little moving in the State, which doubtleſs had flamed higher, if the King had not aſſwaged it by his Proclamations, wherein he declared, *Quod quidam malevoli ſiniſtra predicantes, illis falſo ſuggeſſerant, illum velle eos indebite gravare, ac jura & libertates Regni ſubvertere, & per ſuggeſtiones doloſas & omnino falſas eorum corda a ſua dilectione & fidelitate avertere*, but deſireth, that, *Hujuſmodi animorum ſuorum perturbatoribus ne fidem adhiberent*, for that he was every ready to defend them from the oppreſſion of the great Lords, *Et omnia jura & conſuetudines eorum debitas, bonas, & conſuetas, in omnibus & per omnia plenius obſervare*, and that they may reſt of this ſecure: *De voluntate ſua libera literas ſuas fecit patentes.* But ſeeing ſtill, that Majeſty and right ſubſiſt not without means and power, and himſelf had of neither ſo much as would ſtop the preſent breach in his own wants, or his Subjects loyalties, he flyeth

Clauſ. an. 49 Hen. 3.

to

to the bosom of his people, for relief and Counsel.

At *Oxford* they met in Parliament, where his necessities met so many undutiful demands, that he was forced to render up to their Rebellious will, his Royal power. *Parl. Oxon.*

Here the Commons knowing that, *Quum eligere inceperunt*, they were *Loco libertatis*, stood with the King to have the managing of the State put to the care of twenty four, whereof twelve by their election, (whereto they look strictly) and the other by him, who in all things else, was left a Cipher, and in this, whether by fear, or remisness, filled up his number with *Mountford*, *Gloucester*, and *Spencer*, which besides the weakening of his own part, won to those his late opposites, an opinion of great interest they had got in his favour. He now hath left neither election of publick office, nor private attendants, his half brethren and their followers, he must despoil of all fortune, and exile by prescription under his own hand, commanding his writs, *Pro transportatione fratrum suorum*, to be directed to the Earls of *Hartford* and *Surrey*, and not to pass either their Money, Armes, or Ornaments, *Nisi in forma quam dicti Comites injunxerint*, and after their departure enjoyned the men of *Bristol*, that they should not permit any Strangers, *Sive propinquos Regis applicare in portu*, but so to behave themselves therein, that as well the King, *Quam Magnates sui eos merito debeant commendare*. *Matth. Paris.* *Chron. Worc.* *Chron. Litchf.* *Clauf. anno 49 Hen. 3.*

Thus we see, how easily mens states do change in a moment, and how hard it is to make use of all things ill gotten.

Richard elect of the Empire, the Kings full brother, and then beyond Sea, must be wrought by letter, as his free desire to confirm by oath those former restrictions of regal power; which though performed, yet would the Lords suffer neither the one or the other, to enter *Dover* Castle (the key of the Kingdom) which they had furnished, as most of the other Forts of reputation in the Realm with Guardians of their own, sworn respectively to the State; taking the like assurance of all the Sheriffs, Bailiffs, Coroners, and other publick Ministers, searching the behaviour of many by strict Commission upon oath, to win opinion in shew among the Vulgar, who groaned under their late Extortions, whereas their end was truly, as it after proved, by displacing the faithful servants of the King, to open a way, to their own dependants.

Chron. S. Alban.

Regis Roffen.

Rot. in Scrio. Wil. de Rishanger.

This changing sole power into the rule of many, and those by popular election, made the State believe, that by this form of limited policy, they had utterly suppressed the mind of man, for ever dreaming more upon the imaginary humours of licentious Soveraignty: But it fell out nothing so, for now every man began to estimate his own worth, and to hammer his head on every design, that might enlarge his power and command.

Then began the great men to rent from the body of the Crown, and regal Signiories, all such royal Suitors as neighboured any of their own own seats, whereto they enforce their service, and so (as the Record saith) *Ad sectas indebitas, & servitutes intolerabiles subditos Regis compulerunt*: Thus raising mean manners to become great Honours, and renting asunder the regal

Scaccar.

gal Juſtice, they made themſelves of ſo many ſubjects whileſt they lived in duty, *Totidem Tyranni* (as the book of Saint *Albans* ſaith) when they had left their loyalties *Magnas induxerunt Magnates Regni ſuper ſubditos Regis ſervitutes, & appreſſiones*, which they bore patiently; for excels of miſery having no eaſe but Cuſtome, made men willing to lay the foundation of ſervitude by the length of ſufferance, which found no eaſe or end, until the quiet of this Kings reign. *Rot. Regis in Schoa. 56 H. 3.*

Mountford, *Gloceſter*, and *Diſpencer*, the heads of this Rebellious deſign, having by the late proviſions drawn to the hands of the twenty four *Tribunes* of the people, the entire managing of the Royal State, and finding this power too much diſperſed, to work the end of their deſires, forced again the King at *London* to call a Parliament, where they delivered over the authority of the twenty four unto themſelves, and create a *Triumvirate*, *non conſtituendæ Reipublicæ cauſa*, as they firſt pretended, (for their own ends, and ſo in the intereſt of ſome private contented, the publick was ſtayed) but to make a ſpeedier way to one of them as it fatally did, to become *Dictator perpetuus*: Ambition is never ſo high, but ſhe thinks ſtill to mount; that ſtation which ſeemed lately the top, is but a ſtep to her now, and what before was great in deſiring, ſeems little being once in power. *Wallingford. Will. de. Riſhanger. Chron. de Dunſt.*

Theſe three, elect nine Councellours, and appoint, *Quod tres ad minus alternatim ſemper in curia ſint*, to diſpoſe of the cuſtody of Caſtles, *Et de aliis Regni negotiis*. The chief Juſtice, Chancellour, and Treaſurer, with all offices, *Majores & Minores*, they reſerve the choice of *Ordinat. inter Rec. Lond.*

to

to themſelves, and bind the King to this hard bargain upon ſuch ſtrong ſecurity; that he is contented under the great Seal, and Oath, to looſe to them the Regal knot of duty, whenſoever he aſ-
Chron. Origin. ſub ſigillo. ſumeth to himſelf his Regal dignity, *Liceat omnibus de Regno noſtro contra nos inſurgere, & ad gravamen noſtrum opem & operam dare acſi nobis in nullo tenerentur.* This prodigy of fortune of whom ſhe had ſet a pittiful example of her inconſtancy, finding no part of his Soveraignty left, but the bare Title, and that at their leave, beggeth ſuccour from *Urbane* the fourth, againſt his diſloyal Subjects.

Chron. Litch. wil. de Ri'hanger. The Pope by his Bull cancelleth his Oath and contract, and armed him with Excommunications againſt all thoſe that return not with ſpeed, to their due and old obedience, ſince promiſes made by men, which cannot ſay they are at liberty, are weak, and force hath no power to make juſt intereſt.

The Lords on the other ſide, that had imped their wings with Eagles feathers, and liked no game now, but what was raked out of the aſhes of Monarchy, made head againſt their Soveraign, and to mate him the better, called in aid ſome
Chr. Britanniæ. *French* forces: Thus the Common-wealth turned again her ſword into her own bowels, and invited her ancient Enemy, to the funeral of her liberty; ſo that it was a wonder, ſhe ſhould not at this time paſs under a forraign ſervitude.
Chron. Dunſt. And though theſe men were more truly ſenſible of their own diſgrace, than of others miſery: Yet found they no better pretext for private intereſt than that of the publick.

And

And therefore at the entry of this War, they cryed liberty, although when they came near to an end, they never ſpake word of it.

At *Lewis* the Armies met, where the King endeavours a reconciliation, but in vain, for perſwaſions are ever unprofitable, when Juſtice is inferiour to force. *wil. de Rishanger.*

The ſword decided the difference, and gave the two Kings, and their eldeſt Sons Priſoners. The perſon now as well as the regal power, thus in the hands of *Mountford* and *Gloceſter*, found neither bound of ſecurity, nor expectation of liberty, but what the emulous competition of greatneſs (which now began to break out between theſe mighty Rivals,) gave hope of, for *Leyceſter* meaning by ingroſſing from his partner, to himſelf, the perſon of the King, and to his followers the beſt portion of the ſpoil, to draw more fruit from this advantage, than it would in fellowſhip yield, diſſolved the knot of all their amity.

Thus equal Authority with the ſame power, is ever fatal (we ſee) to all great actions: For to fit minds to ſo even a temper, that they ſhould not have ſome motions of diſſenting, is impoſſible.

Mountford having thus broken all faith with his Confederates and duty to his Soveraign, left the path of moderation and wiſdom, to come to the King, by that of pride and diſtruſt. To him he telleth, that his armes and ends had no other object ever but order of the State, and eaſe of the people, that he did not in this carry affection againſt duty, but well knew how to reine his deſires, to his juſt power, and ſo no leſs to his Majeſties

Majeſties content, if he would be ruled; which was to command the Forts and Caſtles of his now oppoſite *Gloceſter*, and the reſt into his hands. It was hard to this King thus to take a Law from his inferiour, but neceſſity in ſoveraign affairs doth often force away all formality; and therefore this poor Prince, who now at the Victors diſcretion, ſeemed to have been only raiſed to ſhew the inconſtancy of fortune and vanity of man, ſuited himſelf with incomparable wiſdom according to the neceſſity of the time; Neither did humility wrong Majeſty, when there was no other means to contain Spirits ſo inſolent, but diſſembling. He therefore ſummoneth in his own perſon the ſorts of his faſteſt friends, to yield to his greateſt enemies. Theſe he enters in ſhew as his lodging, but in effect his priſon, and ſaw himſelf forced to arm againſt his friends, and to receive now Law from him, to whom he lately thought to give it. Thus *Leyceſter* is become a darling of the Common rout, who eaſily change to every new Maſter, but the beſt durſt not faile along his fortune, by the light of his glory: Cryſtal that fairly gliſtereth doth eaſily break, and as the aſcent of uſurping royalty is ſlippery, ſo the top is ſhaking, and the fall fearful. To hold this man then at the entry of his falſe felicity fully happy, was but to give the name of the Image, to the mettle that was not yet molten, for by this, the impriſoned Prince was eſcaped, and faſt aſſured of *Gloceſter*, by the knot of his great mind, and diſcontent, and both with the torn remainder of the loyal Army united, and by ſpeedy march arrived unlooked for, near *Eveſham*, to the unarmed troops of the ſecure Rebels, whom

whom they inſtantly aſſailed, for it was no fit ſeaſon to give time, when no time did aſſure ſo much, as expedition did promiſe.

Diſpencer and other Lords of that faction, made towards the King, with the beſt ſpeed for mercy, but could not break out, being hurried along the ſtream of the giddy multitude.

Publick motions depend on the conduct of Fortune; private on our own carriage, we muſt beware of running down ſteep hills with weighty bodies, they once in motion, *Suo feruntur pondere*, ſtops are not then voluntary; but *Leyceſter* at that inſtant with the King, and out of the ſtorm might have eſcaped, if his courage and hope had not made him more reſolute by misfortune, ſo that he could neither forſake his followers, nor his ambition; thus making adverſity the exerciſe of his vertue, he came and fell. Private Cogitations may take more or leſs of fortune, but thoughts (we ſee) once raiſed to the heighth of rule, are no more in our own power, having no mean to ſtep upon between the higheſt of all and precipitation.

The King by this bleſſed Fortune freed, and obeyed, began to ſearch the ground of his former miſery, and why that Vertue and Fortune that had ſo long ſetled and maintained under his Anceſtors the glory of his Empire, had caſt her in his time off, and conſpired with her Enemies, to her almoſt ruine, as if the *Genius* of the ſtate had quite forſook her. Here he finds his waſteful hand had been too quick, both over the Perſons and fortunes of his People, the griping Avarice of his Civil Miniſters and lawleſs liberty of his Martial followers, the neglect

Rot. par. 53. H. 3. M. 51. Riſhanger.

of

of grace, and breach of his word, to have lost his Nobility at home, and necessity, his Reputation abroad, by making Merchandize of peace and war, as his last refuge; so leaving his old Allies became enforced to betake himself to persons doubtful, or injured, and that by giving over himself to a sensual security, and referring all to base greedy and unworthy Ministers, whose Councils were ever more subtle than substantial, he had thrown down those pillars of soveraignty and safety, Reputation abroad, and Reverence at home.

Jo. Taxter, Mon. Bury. He now therefore maketh sweetness and clemency the entrances of his regained Rule: for the faults of most of the late Rebels he forgot, a gracious kind of pardoning, not to take knowledge of offences; others he forgave, that they might live but to the glory of his goodness, for the fewer killed, the more remains to adorn the Trophee.

Rot. Cart. 51, 52 Hen. 3.

Tyrants shed blood for pleasure, Kings for necessity; yet left his Justice and power might too much suffer in his grace and mercy, some few he punished by small fines, some by banishment, as the two guiltless, yet unpitied Sons of the Arch-traitour. Treason so hateful is to the head, that it draweth (we see in this,) the carriage of the innocent children into an everlasting suspect, and what is suspicion in others is guilt in them: Upon the constant followers of his broken fortunes he bestowed, but with a more wary hand than before, the forfeitures of his enemies: Immoderate liberality he had found but a weak means to win love, for it lost more in the gathering than it gained in the giving. This

Claus. 52 H. 3. M. 29.

bounty

bounty bestowed without respect, was taken without grace, discredited the receiver and detracteth from the judgement of the giver, and blunted the appetites of such, as carried their hopes out of vertue and service: Thus at last, he learned that reward and reprehension justly laid, do ballance Government, and that it much importeth a Prince, the hand to be equal that holdeth the scale. *Chron. Dunst.*

In himself, he reformed his natural errours. Princes manners, though a mute Law, have more of life and vigour than those of letters, and though he did sometimes touch upon the verge of vice, he forbore ever after to enter the circle.

His court wherein at this time, the faults of great men did not only by approbation, but Imitation receive true comfort, and authority; (for their crimes now became examples, and customes,) he purged very judiciously and severely: since from thence proceeds either the regular or irregular condition of the Common state.

Expence of house he measured by the just Rule of his proper revenue, and was heard often to say, that his excess of waste before had been an issue of his Subjects blood. The insolency of his Souldiers made lawless by the late liberties of Civil armes, he spendeth in forraign expedition. Having seen that the quiet Spirits underwent all the former Calamities, and the other never were satisfied but in the misery of Innocents, and would, if they had no enemies abroad, seek out one at home, as they had done before. *Ordinat. authorit. Reg. aulæ. Claus. 53 H. 3. Rishanger.*

The rigour and corruption of his judicial Officers he examineth, and redresseth by strict Commission; For the fence of their severity, became a murmur of his own cruelty. *Pat. 53, & 54 H. 3. Comment. de Trail. baston.*

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The ſeats of Judgement and Counciſ, he filled up with men nobly born. For ſuch attract with leſs offence, the Generous ſpirits to reſpect and reverence. Their Abilities he meaſureth not by favour, or by Private Information, as before, but by publick voice, for every man in particular may deceive and be deceived, but no man can deceive all, nor all one.

And to diſcover now his own Capacity, and what part he meaneth to bear hereafter in all deliberate Expeditions, he ſitteth himſelf in Council daily, and diſpoſeth affairs of moſt weight in his own perſon. For Councellours be they never ſo wiſe or worthy, are but as acceſſaries, not principals, in ſuſtentation of the State; their Office muſt be ſubjection, not fellowſhip, in conſiderations of moment, and to have ability to adviſe, not authority to reſolve.

For as to live, the Prince muſt have a particular ſoul; ſo to rule his proper and intern Council; without the one he can never be truly man, without the other, he ſhall never be ſecurely a Prince; for it offendeth as well the Miniſter of merit as the people to force obedience to one uncapable of his own greatneſs, or unworthy of his fortunes. This wonderful change to the general State (ſo hopeleſs lately to recover her former liberty, they ſought now for nothing but the mildeſt ſervitude) brought them home again with admiration to his devotion and their own duty.

He that will lay (we ſee) the foundation of greatneſs upon popular love, muſt give them eaſe and Juſtice, for they meaſure the bond of their obedience, by the good alwayes that they receive.

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This peace attended ever after his age and hearſe, and he happily lived to faſhion his Son and Succeſſour, and to make him Partner of his own experience and authority, whoſe own hard education training him from that intemperance, which makes men inferiour to beaſts, framed him to affect glory, and vertue, which made him ſuperiour to men. So that all the Actions of his future Reign were exact grounds of Diſcipline, and Policy, for his beſt ſucceſſour to rule by after, who as he was the firſt of his name ſince the Conqueſt, ſo was he the firſt that ſetled the Law and State, deſerving the Stile of *Englands Juſtinian*, and the proud title to have freed this Kingdom from the wardſhip of the Peers, ſhewing himſelf in all his Actions after, capable to Command not the Realm only, but the whole World. *Barth. Cotton. Chron. Norwic.*

Thus do the wrongs of our Enemies more than our own diſcretions, make us ſometimes both wiſe and fortunate.

Robert Cotton Bruceus.

April 29.
1614.

FINIS.

THE

French Charity.

ALthough we see that natural causes produce sometimes contrary effects, that the Sun which draws up the Clouds, can also scatter them, that the same Wind both lights and blows out the Taper, that Vipers serve for wholsom Medicaments, and Scorpions carry about them an Antidote to their own poison: it is not so nevertheless in Moral and Politick affairs, wherein that which is once ill, is alwayes accounted such; from whence is begot in us that quality which we call *Experience*, whereby wise men are accustomed to judge of present and future actions by those that are past. Which is the foundation whereupon

all Monarchies and Republicks have eſtabliſhed the Maxims of their ſubſiſtence, and found out both what they ought to follow, and what to avoid.

The Charity which *France* hath teſtified to pacifie our differences, is ſo great, that it is become incredible, ſo unſeaſonable that it is ſuſpected, and ſo contrary to their former proceedings that it is quite other wayes underſtood. Philoſophers ſay, we cannot paſs from one extremity to another without ſome mean; I cannot ſee by what ſteps they are come to this perfect goodneſs, nor what good *Genius* can have made them in an inſtant ſo good friends of ſuch dangerous neighbours to us. I will paſs my cenſure upon nothing, yet let me have the liberty to judge of all. I find ſo great a wonder in this change, that I find a conflict in my ſelf to believe it. It is no common marvel, that thoſe who have for ſo long a time beheld all *Europe* in a flame, and could not be moved by the blood and deſtruction of ſo many people to caſt thereon one drop of water, ſhould now have their bowels ſo tender as to compaſſionate the diſſentions ariſing in a corner of the world which hath alwayes been fatal to them; That thoſe who have made it their chiefeſt intereſt to divide us, ſhould

now

now make it their glory to reunite us; That those who place their rest in our troubles, should now apply their cares for our repose; and that after they have cast us down headlong, they should reach us a plank for to come ashore. Let the wise Reader here (whilst I determine nothing) allow me at least a little distrust; it is the Mother of Safety. The *Trojans*, who could not be overcome by Arms, perisht by a pledge of peace. All the *French* civilities are fair and good; but in the bottom,

Quicquid id est, timeo Gallos, & dona ferentes.

Let us see what reasons can oblige them to interest themselves so passionately in our agreement. Is it Religion? surely no; for that which they profess, is contrary to that of this Kingdom; and the little Charity they have for their own, ought not to perswade us that they have much for ours. Is it for the inclination they have to peace? surely no; for if they esteemed it a benefit, they would seek it first for themselves. It is perhaps for an acknowledgement of their obligations to us in the late wars, and for the assistance we gave to those of *Rochel*. I, this would be truly Christian indeed, to

render us good for evil. They will ſay, that they are the bands of blood and parentage, which bind them to the *Queen*; and yet they have let the Mother beg her ſubſiſtence and retreat among ſtrangers, which ſhe could not find with them, and having beheld her without pitty and ſuccour in her greateſt extremities, they adviſe to offer her a remedy upon the declining of her ill. But if this be the reaſon of their admittance, I conceive them no lawful nor indifferent Mediators, ſince they are ſo much concern'd in one of the parties. They will whiſper us in the ear, that the deſign is to pacifie us, and to ingage us in a league with them againſt the *Spaniard*; although at the ſame time they deſign Ambaſſadours for *Munſter* to endeavour a peace with him. O, we ſhould wrong them very much to believe it, though they might ſeem in an humour to deſire it of us; They are too gallant ſpirited to pretend it, they know that we are better adviſed than to ſerve them to pull their Cheſnut out of the fire; that a body recovering health from a long ſickneſs ought not to expoſe it ſelf to a violent agitation; that the State will find it ſelf loaden with debts, and the Subject exhauſted by Contributions; that we ought

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to preferr the evident profit of traffick before the uncertain vanity of a conqueſt; that Jealouſies being not yet removed, nor emulations ſuppreſt, all kind of arming would be ſuſpected by the State, fearing leſt ſome under pretence of a forreign War might ſtudy private revenge, or the oppreſſion of the publick liberty; and that in the end it will be our gain to ſee them deal with *Spain*, and to make our advantage of their troubles, or not to meddle at all with them, unleſs by adding ſecretly (according to the revolution of affairs) a little weight to them that ſhall be found the lighter. If then it be none of theſe motives, it remains that it muſt be either Generoſity, or deceit. O *Generoſity* (that haſt ſo long ſince withdrawn thy ſelf to Heaven, there to keep company with the fair *Aſtræa*, or rather, who we're buried in *France* in the Sepulchre of Monſieur *Gonin*) is it poſſible that thou ſhouldſt be riſen again, or that *France* ſhould have recall'd thee with her exiles ſince the death of her King; and that the firſt labour ſhe ſhould put thee to, ſhould be in favour of *England*, againſt whom but few dayes ſince ſhe ſhewed ſuch violent reſentments, for an offence received by a pretended violation of the Treaties which had paſt between

tween us? Truly if it be ſhe we muſt reverence her with extraordinary reſpects; but before we give her the Honour due unto her, we muſt know her, for fear of Idolatry in adoring her maſque for her ſelf, or embracing a cloud inſtead of a Goddeſs. Let us give a thruſt with our Launce into the *Trojan* horſe, to ſee if there be no ambuſh within.

In walking lately with ſome *French* Gentlemen (as this nation is free enough of their diſcourſe) a word eſcaped from one of the company without making réflexion (as I think) of what Countrey I was, That amongſt their Prophets there was one which ſaid, That *the Conqueſt of* England *was promiſed to their young King*. This thought caſt into the aire though inconſiderately, ſeemed to me very conſiderable; and having given me an occaſion to reflect upon all things both paſt and preſent, it ſerved me as a light to guide me in the obſcurity of this Labyrinth, upon which before I had reaſoned but ſuperficially. From thence being returned to my lodging, I opened accidentally a book of Monſieur *de Rohan*, intitled *The intereſt of the Princes of Chriſtendom*, and I fell preſently upon a paſſage where he ſaid, That one of the ſureſt wayes to make ones ſelf Maſter of a State, is to interpoſe and make himſelf arbiter of its diffe-

differences. I had no need of any other *Oedipus* to expound to me the riddle of the Propheſie, theſe firſt motives of ſuſpicion having caſt me into more profound thoughts, I revolved in my mind how *France* had managed the whole buſineſs, both before and ſince the beginning of our troubles, and weighed all the circumſtances of this Ambaſſage. Why ſuch a ſolemn Ambaſſage in a time when all things ſeem moſt exaſperated and furtheſt from accommodation? Why then not ſooner, while differences were not yet irreconcileable between the two parties? Why ſuch a warlike Prince, who is not experienced in the affairs of this Kingdom, to manage a negotiation of a peace the moſt nice and intricate that the world at this time affords? Why at the ſame time levying of Souldiers in *Normandy*, when all the other troops are in their quarters? Why therefore ſhould they ſupply one of the parties with money, when they come to act the perſons of Mediators; if not to caſt wood and oyle into the flame? Why at the ſame time an Agent in *Scotland*, who propounds to them openly a League with *France*? Why begin they only to turn their cares upon *England*, when they are upon the point of concluding a peace with *Spain*? May not we well judge that

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it is to prepare themſelves for a new employment? ſince they themſelves confeſs that their boiling and unquiet temper hath need of continual exerciſe, and that the only means to prevent troubles at home, is continually to furniſh them with matter whereupon to evacuate their choler abroad. Why doth only *France* afford us this ſo ſuddain and unexpected Charity, after all the freſh wounds which bleed yet among them becauſe of the expulſion of the *Capuchins*, after the continual cares ſhe hath taken for ſo many years to lay the foundation of our troubles by the ſecret negotiations of the Marquis of *Blainville*, by the intrigues of the Cardinal of *Richelieu* with *Buckingham*, by the long plots in *Scotland*, and by the open ſollicitations of the Marquis *de la Fert?* by all which they ſometimes incited the Kings miniſters to make him independent and abſolute, offering to that purpoſe their aſſiſtance, and anon they ſollicited the States to ſhake off the yoke of ſervitude, finally they transformed themſelves into a thouſand different ſhapes, till having plunged us deep enough in the gulf, they then call back their Ambaſſage, to give in appearance ſome ſatisfaction to the King, but in truth becauſe his commiſſion was expired. May not we well conclude from all this, that they

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will now reap the fruits they have ſo carefully ſown and cultivated amongſt us? From theſe conſiderations falling inſenſibly on *thoſe of England*, what need (ſaid I in my ſelf) have we of the intermeddling of ſtrangers? are they more verſed in our intereſts than our ſelves? can they afford more expedients? are they more ſenſible of our Miſeries than thoſe that ſuffer them? Is it to exhort us, or to conſtrain us? the firſt is ſuperfluous; the ſecond dangerous. It muſt needs be that either in the one caſe they think to go beyond us in wit, or in the other to maſter us by force. If peace be profitable for us, have we any need either of a Maſter to make us know our advantage, or of an Oratour to perſwade us to it? If it be hurtful to us, we ought to give them thanks for their advice, but follow that which is better. If the peace be feaſible, why ſhould we leave the glory of it to others? if impoſſible, why loſe time in making vain propoſitions? why ſhould we acquaint ſtrong and ambitious neighbours, and truſt the *Philiſtins* with the ſecret of our force? Muſt *England*, that hath in times paſt compelled *France* to purchaſe peace, be now conſtrained to beg it of her? that one of the moſt conſiderable and flouriſhing Monarchies of the world ſhould ſerve for matter of ſport to

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